

SAINTHOOD IN THE THEATER
OF LOPE DE VEGA

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INTRODUCTION

It has been said that Spain owes to her religious faith a kind of drama which there reached its highest development, unique in European literature: "la comedia divina y el auto sacramental, verdadero teatro de carácter sagrado."¹ Though the auto sacramental has been quite thoroughly studied by a number of critics, the comedia divina usually receives mention only as a classification within the broad category of comedias; and even less attention is given the comedia de santos.²

Edward Glaser wrote that the study of the comedia bíblica is still awaiting its hour.³ The same may be said for the comedia de santos, on which, as a class, very little has been written. We do know that the saints' lives became the "argumento favorito y casi exclusivo"⁴ of the seventeenth-century dramatists when, under pressure from public opinion and official decrees, they turned to religious subjects. It is hoped, therefore, that the present study will add to the accumulation of details which will one day make a definitive study possible.

¹ Ricardo del Arco y Garay, La sociedad española en las obras dramáticas de Lope de Vega (Madrid: Escelicer, 1941), p. 73.

² An example is Bruce Wardropper's Introducción al teatro religioso del siglo de oro (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1953); its subtitle is "la evolución del auto sacramental: 1500-1648."

³ Edward Glaser, "El Patriarca Jacob, amante ejemplar del teatro del siglo de oro español," Bulletin Hispanique, LVIII (January-March, 1956), 5.

⁴ Arco y Garay, p. 74.

The purpose of this study is to examine the concept of saint-hood as found in the Spanish drama of the Golden Age. It is evident that the saints were considered heroes, and were offered as patterns of perfection. Their lives were held up not only for edification, but as models that all should strive to imitate.¹ We wish to discover who these saints were--Biblical or historical, male or female, founders or patrons, etc.--and what they actually did, whether they died as martyrs, lived as hermits, fought infidels, or only lived a good life. We wish also to discover something about the techniques of the plays, and about the religious and theological concepts presented in them. To provide background, we shall look into the history of the religious drama in Spain, taking note of the liturgical drama, the early vernacular drama, and the various dramatic and non-dramatic forerunners of the comedia de santos. Some attention to the prominent role of religion in the life of seventeenth-century Spaniards will be necessary; and in one chapter an effort will be made to picture what is meant by the term "saint."

Limitations of time have not permitted the inclusion of all Golden Age comedias de santos.² Because of his vast output, and because of the wide agreement that he represents the theology, the customs, and even the speech of his day, Lope de Vega has been chosen as representative author of comedias de santos. It has been said

¹ In this country, a similar purpose is seen in Charles M. Sheldon, In His Steps (Philadelphia: H. Altemus, 1899).

² Appendix A contains a list of plays for the first- and second-rate playwrights of the period.

that Lope's comedias devotas would alone be enough to justify his existence as an author.¹ Schevill declared that Lope's work represents the fullest achievement of the struggle of the sixteenth-century Spanish theater for adequate dramatic expression;² and Valbuena asserted that Lope's comedias de santos provided the model for such plays during the rest of the siglo de oro.³ There can be no doubt that Lope de Vega may be considered representative of his period; and it is hoped that the way in which he viewed the universal concept of sainthood, as we glean it from his plays, will give us insight into his thinking and that of his day. "We know least about the development of his mind, about his world of ideas. Some of his choicest lines are readily overlooked in the midst of the flashy material which surrounds them."⁴

There may be those who would object to this sort of investigation on the grounds that it is partly "from an extra-literary vantage point" or for "extra-literary purposes, e.g. sociological and anthropological purposes."⁵ But it is difficult to imagine that the importance of the comedia itself is greater than that of the

¹Nicolás González Ruiz, Piezas maestras del teatro teológico español (Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1946), II, xxxv.

²Rudolph Schevill, The Dramatic Art of Lope de Vega together with "La dama boba" (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1918), preface.

³Angel Valbuena Prat, Historia de la literatura española (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1937), II, 239.

⁴Rudolph Schevill, Review of La preceptiva dramática de Lope de Vega, by M. Romera-Navarro, Hispanic Review, V (January, 1937), 96.

⁵Karl-Ludwig Selig, "Some Remarks on the Comedia and New Criticism," Bulletin of the Comediantes, XII (Spring, 1960), 12.

human being--whether the author, or the people whose living and thinking are represented by it.

Let us, before continuing, be sure to understand a few basic terms. Comedia is equivalent to "play," without regard to the tragic or comic nature of the work. Comedia de santos will be understood here as a play about the Biblical, historical, or legendary life of a saint. To lend objectivity and reliability to the study, only those plays considered authentic by Morley and Bruerton¹ have been included. By "saint" is meant a person listed in the register of saints as drawn up by the Benedictine monks of St. Augustine's Abbey, Ramsgate.²

It is hoped that in this way we can avoid conclusions based on plays of doubtful authenticity and, at the same time, examine enough plays to form an adequate judgment. It is further hoped that some strength can be added to the definition of comedia de santos--a definition fuzzy as recently as 1958, when one writer listed under comedias hagiográficas "los temas hagiográficos (bíblicos,

¹S. G. Morley and Courtney Bruerton, The Chronology of Lope de Vega's Comedias (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1940). The authorship of four works included here has been questioned; Morley and Bruerton, however, believe that Lope wrote them.

²The Book of Saints, fourth edition revised and enlarged (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1947). The protagonists of two plays, La devoción del rosario and La niñez del padre Rojas, are listed as "Bl." (blessed; beatified only) rather than saints (beatified and canonized; on these procedures, see chapter IV). El rústico del cielo is included because its protagonist, though not even beatified, was clearly considered a saint by the populace.

de santos, piadosos).¹ He thus considered La hermosa Ester a comedia hagiográfica; but if we restrict hagiográfica to those saints duly registered by the Church, we are at odds with the term, for, though all the major and minor prophets and many other Old Testament figures, such as Adam, Eve, Job, Abraham, Moses, and David are saints,² Esther is not. Obviously, it is impossible for the comedia bíblica and comedia de santos not to overlap. Small wonder that Zamora Vicente, writing on the difficulties of a satisfactory classification of Lope's dramas, declared, "Especialmente en las comedias de santos, la confusión es enorme. . . ."³

¹Diego Marín, La intriga secundaria en el teatro de Lope de Vega (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958), p. 83.

²That such figures of the Old Testament are saints is sometimes overlooked by Protestants. But they have been duly inscribed in the Roman Martyrology and listed in The Book of Saints. It is true that in the Personas (the "cast") of the comedias de santos, Old Testament figures are listed without the prefixed San; but in El Serafín humano (Obras dramáticas de Lope de Vega, edición de la Real Academia Española [Madrid, 1890-1913], IV, 290), Fray Junípero says that Moses and Peter are his favorite saints. In a letter dated April 29, 1963, Dr. Helmut Hatzfeld of the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., wrote:

"The justi of the Old Testament . . . and the beati of the New Testament are equally saints (de facto), although canonically one could only call saints those canonized. However, in the conscience of the Christian people--and by necessary inference also of the audiences of the siglo de oro--the Old Testament justi are saints. They are seated together with the New Testament saints in Dante's heavenly Rose. In Venice there is a church San Moisé. . . ."

³Alonso Zamora Vicente, Lope de Vega (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1961), p. 233.

In this study, mention of a comedia de santos of Lope de Vega will indicate a play known to be by Lope dealing with the life of a saint or saints officially registered by the Catholic Church.¹

¹Some plays, such as El nacimiento de Cristo, treat but a short period of time in the life of the saint. Still another problem of classification arises when we compare a play like Barlaán y Josafat, with its penetrating philosophical questions, to a play like El rústico del cielo, about the blunders of a bobo-like lay brother.

No attention is given here to the numerous appearances of saints, in visions, dreams, or miracles, in non-religious plays. Such appearances are listed in Linton L. Barrett, "The Supernatural in the Spanish Non-Religious Comedia of the Golden Age" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Dept. of Romance Languages, University of North Carolina, 1938).

CHAPTER I

DRAMATIC PRECURSORS OF THE COMEDIA DE SANTOS

The Liturgical Drama in Spain

It is perhaps best from the outset to admit the limitations that weigh so heavily on the student of pre-seventeenth-century drama. Freedley and Reeves declare, "It is with a feeling of dismay that we plunge into the dark and turgid waters which lie between the fall of Rome (476) and the capture of Constantinople (1453) which precipitated the Renaissance. . . . The creative arts were temporarily lost. Or at least they can be said to have disappeared from view."¹ Crawford expresses a similar regret with reference to Spain: "It is possible that no amount of study can fill in satisfactorily the gap which exists between the precursors of Lope and Lope himself."² In the dark period before the Renaissance, literary milestones are so few and geographical barriers so formidable that directions of development cannot always be determined with certainty, and a strictly chronological approach would often appear strained.

¹George Freedley and John A. Reeves, A History of the Theater (New York: Crown Publishers, 1941), p. 48.

²J. P. W. Crawford, Spanish Drama Before Lope de Vega (rev. ed.; London: Oxford University Press, 1937), p. 188.

A complete array of theories, however, is available to the student of Spanish religious drama. They range from the brief summary of Pérez de Ayala to the studies of Manuel Cañete, Adolfo Bonilla, Beatrice Patt, Bruce Wardropper, Richard Donovan, and others. Pérez de Ayala dismisses the problems by stating that the auto sacramental and the comedia de santos are derived, though not always in clear lineage, from the milagros, misterios, and moralidades "que durante la Edad Media se representaban en todos los pueblos de Europa, generalmente en las catedrales, iglesias y monasterios."¹ At the other extreme is Adolfo Bonilla, who, entering into great detail, relates the Spanish affinity for staged spectacles to the presence of Greeks in the peninsula in remote times.²

The question immediately arises as to why the history of the medieval drama in Spain is so obscure. Parker blames "the paucity of texts, notices and documents. Spain has indeed been unfortunate in the loss of her earliest literary works, and it is in the drama, both religious and secular, that this loss is perhaps most keenly felt."³ It may well be asked, why this paucity and loss of documents? In answer to this question, Donovan, citing various references to manuscripts and collections, concludes, "It seems, then, that lack

¹Ramón Pérez de Ayala, Las máscaras (Madrid: Renacimiento, 1924), II, 111-112.

²Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, Las Bacantes o del origen del teatro (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1921), p. 39.

³A. A. Parker, "Notes on the Religious Drama in Medieval Spain and the Origins of the 'Auto Sacramental,'" Modern Language Review, XXX (April, 1935), 171-172.

of curiosity, more than anything else, has been the leading cause of the dearth of studies upon the liturgical drama of medieval Spain."¹

Be that as it may, it is certain that the Romans, in Spain as elsewhere, built theaters and supported dramatic performances. The emperor Constantine, in his encouragement of oratorical contests, fostered a custom which was encouraged until Justinian (ruled 527-565) closed the Athenian schools.² Even then, the contests persisted. Paul the Silentiary, who lived under Justinian, pronounced two eulogies on the occasion of the founding of the church of St. Sofia, probably with the aid of church singers and musicians from the Hippodrome. The emperor Andronicus, an ardent worshiper of Mary, is supposed to have presented a prize to Theodore Hyrtacenus for his encomium upon the Virgin. Such recitations were given a theatric effect by the choruses which chanted portions of the poem.³

These half-literary, half-scenic performances may be a suggestion as to why the empress Eudocia (401?-460; wife of Theodocius II) had earlier written a poem, fragments of which are preserved, on the legend of St. Cyprian. This legend and the story of Thecla, versified by Eudocia's contemporary, Basil, bishop of Seleucia, were

¹ Richard B. Donovan, The Liturgical Drama in Medieval Spain (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1958), p. 6.

² Joseph S. Tunison, Dramatic Traditions of the Dark Ages (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1907), p. 82.

³ Ibid., pp. 82-83. Tunison does not make clear which Andronicus this was. Four of them ruled between 1183 and 1378.

highly dramatic themes in the traditions of the early church. It is likely that these elaborate poems were intended for recitation in churches by choruses, with the representation of individual characters where appropriate.¹

Such interest was apparently not restricted to the seat of the empire. The Gallican churches, from a time not now possible to ascertain, read lives of the saints from the chancel on their anniversaries.² The Acts of martyrs and books containing accounts of miracles wrought by the relics of martyrs were read to congregations at least as early as the time of St. Augustine (354-430).³

Cheney points out that the last extant contemporary reference to the Roman theater as such occurs in a letter dated 533. In subsequent centuries we may picture wandering actors performing fragments of plays at courts, private festivities, or crossroads. They were no longer true actors, however, because with their sketches they mixed juggling, knife-throwing, tumbling, tight-rope walking, and even trained bears. One important new element was the recited poetic story. But the minstrels were little more than a link, a substitute for the theater from the sixth to the twelfth centuries.⁴

¹Ibid., pp. 83-84. The dramatic quality of the legend of St. Cyprian can be inferred from Calderón's El mágico prodigioso.

²Ibid., p. 84.

³J. A. Macculloch, Medieval Faith and Fable (Boston: Marshall Jones Co., 1932), p. 130. Macculloch here cites De Civ. Dei, xxii, 8.

⁴Sheldon Cheney, The Theatre, 3000 Years of Drama, Acting and Stagecraft (rev. and enlarged ed.; New York: Longmans, 1952), pp. 137-139.

Bonilla, pointing to the bullring as a descendant of the amphitheater, maintains that the Romanization of Spain was more intense than in any other province of the Empire, and that traditions of Roman theatrical performances could not help persisting during the Spanish Middle Ages.¹ The bobo used by sixteenth-century dramatic writers, especially Lope de Rueda, is traced to the stupidus of the mimos.² Both Bonilla³ and Cheney⁴ discuss the unsuccessful battle of the church against the dancing, joyous processions and even superstitions which survived from pagan times. The folk-drama instinct crops up from the time of Constantine to the Renaissance, though information is not sufficient for an argument about what a typical dramatic performance might have been. The church, however, found these problems very real, and in several cases--the festival of the Circumcision, for example--directly substituted a Christian for a pagan observance. The persistence of pagan customs is attested by a number of documents.⁵

Ecclesiastical prohibitions indicate that there was some sort of dramatic presentation during the obscure time before the thirteenth century. In 1210, Pope Innocent II forbade religious plays because their secular elements resulted in more amusement than edification.⁶

¹Bonilla, pp. 46-48.

²Ibid., pp. 42-43.

³Ibid., p. 48.

⁴Cheney, pp. 139-140.

⁵See Bonilla, pp. 48-50.

⁶James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, A New History of Spanish Literature (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), p. 118.

The Council of Valladolid in 1228 prohibited the clergy from taking part in groups "do están ioglares e trashechadores," and that of Lérida in 1229 instructed clerics "que no sean juglares, mimos, ni histriones."¹ The edict in the first Partida (about 1255) of Alfonso el Sabio against the juegos de escarnio is interpreted by Cañete to indicate two things: that performances were popular among both clergy and lay members, and that they were getting away from their original edifying purpose.²

In view of all this, Bonilla firmly holds the opinion that it is absurd to derive the secular theater from the religious:

Compréndense bien, después de esto, cuan absurdo es hacer derivar el Teatro profano medieval del sagrado. Si hubo en la Edad Media un Teatro litúrgico, lo cual es indudable, se introdujo a imitación del pagano, y contra el espíritu y la letra de los Padres y de los Concilios.³

Miss Patt disagrees. She asserts that thirteenth-century evidence that the clergy was beginning to be corrupted by secular entertainers would not preclude eleventh-century derivation of the drama from the liturgy.⁴ Bonilla concedes that dramatic portrayal as such suffered "un larguísimo eclipse." Some monastic libraries contained some of the works of Plautus and Terence, but the structure

¹ Bonilla, pp. 49-50.

² Manuel Cañete, Teatro español del siglo XVI (Madrid: M. Tello, 1885), p. 73.

³ Ibid., p. 50. See also p. 69.

⁴ Beatrice P. Patt, "The Development of the Christmas Play in Spain from the Origins to Lope de Vega" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Bryn Mawr College, 1945), p. 7.

of their works was scarcely understood. The errors and past tenses found in St. Isidore of Seville (560?-636) and other historians indicate that as early as the seventh century the idea of a dramatic performance as such had all but been lost.¹ In view, then, of the lack of contrary evidence, it is not considered unreasonable to search for the roots of the comedias a lo divino in the sacred drama.

A traditional approach to the development of the religious drama in Spain is to divide it into three periods: the liturgical drama, from its origins to about 1200; the semi-liturgical drama, from about 1200 to 1250; and the religious drama, or religious plays in completely secularized form, from about 1250 onward. But a weakness in this approach is that the liturgical plays sometimes continued to be performed considerably later than the emergence of the vernacular plays which were supposed to have evolved from them. Mentioned as evidence are the eighteenth-century performances at Toledo of a shepherd's play and of a work referred to as La Sybila de la noche de Navidad, both of which were given in the cathedral, the former in Latin, the latter in Castilian.²

The Christian drama in Western Europe³ is customarily said to have begun in the tenth century. The oldest extant text is

¹Bonilla, pp. 52-53.

²Donovan, pp. 38-39.

³Donovan, p. 8, claims that the Easter play is of Occidental origin, and that attempts to relate the Western medieval theater to forms from the Orient have been unsuccessful.

believed to be the one from St. Martial de Limoges, written between 923 and 934.¹ But according to the records of St. Gall monastery, in Switzerland, the monk Tutilo conceived the idea of inserting into the Mass a song with words assigned to two or more singers or chanters.² The intent was purely to edify: instead of having one singer tell about the incident in Latin words that few could understand, the matter would be pictured to the congregation by living impersonators. The "scene" was simple: a priest, specially vested, sat by a "sepulcher" while three others approached as if searching for something.

"Quem quaeritis in sepulchro, o Christocolae?"

"Jesum Nazarenum crucifixum, o caelicolae."

"Non est hic, surrexit sicut praedixerat. Ite, nuntiate quia surrexit a mortuis."³

The seekers, turning to the choir, announced, "Alleluia! resurrexit Dominus." The angel, lifting a curtain to show the empty tomb, said, "Venite et videte locum." There followed the anthem, Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro, and then the hymn Te Deum Laudamus.⁴

Thus this early effort at dramatization grew out of the Holy Week rites, in which, during the Middle Ages, the Depositio and the Elevatio were of central importance. The Depositio took place on Good Friday between Mass and Vespers, and consisted of a solemn

¹Donovan, p. 11.

²George T. Northup, An Introduction to Spanish Literature (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936), p. 53.

³Cheny, p. 141. Cf. Donovan, p. 9.

⁴Ibid.

procession after which a cross, a consecrated Host, or an image of Christ was placed in a "sepulcher" to commemorate the death and burial of the Saviour. The Elevatio took place on Easter morning, when the taking up of the cross, Host, or image was understood as symbolizing Christ's resurrection. This was often done privately, so that when the congregation entered the church it would be reminded that Christ was no longer in the tomb. When the Easter play began to be performed, the Elevatio was a good preparation for it; the shroud which had been left when the cross was unwrapped would be triumphantly shown to the people by the angels or the three Marys.¹

The Holy Week practices probably helped suggest the drama; but the immediate source of the liturgical play was the phenomenon of trope-singing. Originally a musical term, trope in the Middle Ages came to be applied more frequently to the words set to music. "In this literary sense, a trope may be defined as a verbal amplification of some passage of the liturgy, either as an introduction, an interpolation, or a conclusion, or any combination of these."²

Such texts were numerous from the ninth century onward. Of the new compositions, by far the most important was the Quem quaeritis. The earliest evidence of its dramatization is found in an English manuscript, the Regularis Concordia, composed between 965 and 975 by

¹Donovan, pp. 8-10.

²Ibid., p. 10. Donovan here offers the following examples of interpolations in the final Ite, missa est and its response, Deo gratias: "Ite nunc in pace, spiritus sanctus super vos sit, iam missa est," and "Deo semper laudes agite, in corde gloriam et gratias."

a Benedictine, St. Ethelwold of Winchester. In the discussion of Holy Week we find explicit instructions for the staging of an Easter play.¹ It is likely that the play was brought to England from the continent.

We know, in any case, that by the year 1000 the new Easter play was flourishing in France, England, and Germany. Before long, other scenes associated with the Resurrection began to appear in the piece: the Marys on their way to the merchant's shop to purchase ointments, the race of Peter and John to the tomb, the apparition of Christ to Mary Magdalen. On Easter Monday a play was introduced commemorating the appearance of the risen Christ to the disciples on the road to Emmaus, a dramatic production which came to be known as the Peregrinus.²

Thoughts turned naturally to creating plays for the other important season of the liturgical year. The story of the miraculous birth, the angels, the shepherds, and the wise men invited dramatization. The trope composed for Christmas Day was obviously modelled after the Easter Quem quaeritis, for it begins, "Quem quaeritis in praesepe, pastores, dicite?" Donovan says the first such text is of the eleventh century.³

Miss Patt suggests that the popular custom of "Hallelujah singing" may have encouraged the development of the Christmas play. Around a praesepe with figures of Mary, Joseph, an angel, and possibly an animal or two, the clergy sang the antiphon "Hodie

¹Ibid., p. 12.

²Ibid., p. 13.

³Ibid., p. 14. Miss Patt (pp. 14-17) thinks the praesepe may have played a part in Christmas liturgy as early as the end of the fourth century. The empress Helena in 335 placed one in the basilica she had built over the spot believed to be Christ's birth-place. But it was the famous praesepe of St. Francis in 1223 that served to make the manger an object of devotion throughout Europe.

natus est Christus." The people responded, "Gloria in excelsis deo, alleluia!" Familiar songs and mimic dances followed.¹

Unlike the Easter play, which usually evolved into a play at Matins, the dramatic element at Christmas was found at Lauds. The antiphon Quem vidistis, pastores, dicite, or another similar one, Pastores, dicite, quidnam vidistis, formed the core of the play.² The custom of having choir boys sing Lauds while dressed as shepherds was quite common in France in the Middle Ages, and, after spreading to Spain, flourished there in some places until the nineteenth century.³

The Officium Stellae or Magi play, which began to flourish in the twelfth century, seems also have overshadowed the Quem quaeritis in praesepe. Usually given on January 6, the Magi play portrayed the arrival of the Wise Men. The Limoges text, of which the date is unknown, indicates three scenes: the kings and the star, the mute oblation scene at the manger, and the departure of the kings as the choir sang "In Bethlehem natus est rex coelorum."

¹Patt, pp. 17-18. This unofficial custom was first mentioned in 633, when the Fourth Council of Toledo forbade it during Lent.

²Donovan, p. 15. Antiphonal singing as an element contributing to the development of the drama is mentioned in Patt, p. 1, and is discussed by Karl Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), II, 9-20.

³Donovan, p. 15. The same writer observes (p. 17) that one possible reason for the small number of Officium Pastorum texts is that in some churches the Ordo Prophetarum, or Procession of the Prophets, was presented instead. This play developed from a sermon, once attributed to St. Augustine but now thought to have been written by Quodvultdeus, bishop of Carthage (437-453). In the course of the sermon, Moses, Isaiah, Daniel, and others were called upon for testimony concerning the divinity of Christ. Prophetic passages from such figures as Virgil and the Brythraean Sibyl were cited as the final proof. Before long the personages themselves were speaking instead of the reader.

A thirteenth-century text from Rouen adds the angel's warning that they return by a different route. The figure of Herod was added, and through his expressions of anger he became a center of comic interest in the play.¹ The Spanish Auto de los Reyes Magos, written toward the middle of the twelfth century, is unfortunately fragmentary.

The Annunciation² also received some dramatic treatment. Later the Visitation³ was added. Also during the Advent season came plays based on eschatological subjects and on the Purification, or presentation of Jesus in the temple (February 2).⁴

The medieval custom of electing a boy bishop for the December 28 Feast of the Holy Innocents was as common in Spain as in the rest of Europe. Bordering on drama, the occasion involved the boy's taking the place of the bishop, dressing in episcopal attire, giving the bishop's blessing, and delivering a satirical sermon.⁵

Elaboration and development in the early attempts at drama continued from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, with increased wording and directions for acting and setting and with a gradual change in language from Latin to a mixture of Latin and the vernacular and finally to the popular tongue. Eventually the mystery

¹Patt, pp. 25-36, and Young, II, 33-53.

²Luke 1:26-38. The date was changed by the Council of Toledo in 656 from March 25 to December 18.

³Luke 1:39-55.

⁴Patt, pp. 46-48.

⁵Donovan, p. 65.

play, or complete play on a Biblical subject, was born, but we cannot say just when.¹

Díaz-Plaja² and Wardropper³ use the term misterio to include episodes from the lives of the saints. Cheney⁴ and Valbuena Prat,⁵ however, prefer to use the term miracles rather than mystères to refer to those plays about the miracles of the Virgin or the lives of the saints. Díaz-Plaja asserts that the misterio gave rise to the auto historial and, eventually, to the comedias de santos, while the symbolic moralidad, with its abstract characters, led to the auto alegórico, later known as the auto sacramental. The auto sacramental is defined as a one-act allegorical work designed for performance during the Corpus Christi festival, usually written in praise of the Eucharist or of the Virgin Mary.⁶

Parker differs in that he uses the term miracles to include both Biblical subjects and lives of the saints. He sees in the "clumsy and often childish allegory" of the sixteenth-century autos and farsas an indication that the morality type, in vogue in other

¹Cheney, pp. 142-143.

²Guillermo Díaz-Plaja, Historia de la literatura española (Havana: Editorial Minerva, 1954), p. 62.

³p. 45.

⁴Pp. 143-144.

⁵p. 63.

⁶Nicolás González Ruiz, Piezas maestras del teatro teológico español (Madrid: Imprenta Saez, 1946), I, xv.

parts of Europe in the fifteenth century, was virtually unknown at that time in Spain, and did not have time to flourish before the medieval conditions encouraging its development had altered. The only example even approaching the type is the Catalonian Mascaron, part narrative and part dialogue, in which the Devil accuses Human Race before God the Judge, but is defeated by the Virgin Mary as the prisoner's advocate. This absence of morality plays is seen by Parker as substantial proof of the "extraordinarily late development of the Spanish religious drama."¹

He goes on to point out that in most of Europe, liturgical dialogues developed into miracle plays, performed publicly by the guilds, in the thirteenth century; in Spain, however, it is not until the fourteenth century that the transition is noted, and not until the fifteenth that fully developed miracle plays can be cited.² In seeking an explanation for the delay in the evolution of the drama in Spain, some historical factors need to be considered. One of these was the Moorish occupation. "The Arab mind resists the theater and it is a fact that wherever they are in control the theater diminishes. . . ."³ Secondly, it must be remembered that during the Arab domination the liturgical rite in Spain was different from that of other European countries. Usually called the Mozarabic rite, it was really a Hispanic rite, for it represented the practice instituted by the

¹Parker, pp. 171, 179.

²Ibid., pp. 171-172.

³Freedley and Reeves, p. 61.

early preachers of the Gospel, and, during the Visigothic period, such important leaders as St. Isidore of Seville and St. Leander. It is not impossible, of course, for the liturgical drama to have grown simultaneously in both the Mozarabic and the Roman-French rites; but the lack of examples and the long periods involved make this a most unlikely possibility.¹ The date of the coming to Spain of the Roman-French rite, then, is of importance.

In Catalonia, Charlemagne evidently extended his liturgical reforms to the principal monasteries and churches of the reconquered land not long after the year 800.² But influence from Europe did not reach Castile until 1004, when King Sancho the Great of Navarre came to the throne. Influence was felt through two channels: Catalonia and Gascony. In Catalonia, Oliva, the influential abbot of Ripoll, was a friend and correspondent of the king; in Gascony were counts related to Sancho who were introducing Cluniac reforms in their own kingdom. In 1020 a group of Spanish monks, including one named Paterno, lived at the Burgundian monastery. Paterno, reputed for sanctity, returned to Navarre in 1024 and was made abbot of San Juan de la Peña, where he soon introduced the usages and customs of Cluny, thus founding the first Cluniac house west of Catalonia. In this same monastery, in 1071, the Roman-French rite was accepted. Rulers who succeeded Sancho often put the monasteries directly in the

¹Ibid., pp. 20-21. The Hispanic ritual was an older, simpler tradition. Though France accepted developments originated in Rome, Spain, with characteristic independence, continued to use her own rite.

²Ibid., p. 26.

hands of the French. The Mozarabic rite was officially abolished around the year 1080, at the Council of Burgos.¹ In 1085, Toledo was reconquered, and the Cluniac abbot of Sahagún, Bernard of Aquitaine, was named Archbishop of Toledo. The cathedral library at Toledo still contains manuscripts revealing French rites and saints.²

Annexation of Spanish religious houses to the monastery of Cluny continued on a large scale from 1060 to 1150; and many houses which did not become Cluniac priories accepted their customs all the same.³

The coming of the Cluniac Order brought not only the change in ritual, but a change in script from traditional peninsular to Carolingian and a new political awareness in dealing with other courts. These three aspects of the Cluniac innovations have been said to have affected matters literary by influencing poetic forms in traditional production (the mester de juglaría), initiating the mester de clerecía, and "desarrollando con esplendor el teatro religioso."⁴

The importance of Toledo as an eleventh-century focal point of French influence has just been seen. The twelfth-century Auto de los Reyes Magos, a 147-line fragment believed to remain from one of the oldest medieval vernacular plays, was discovered in the library of this church. The court of Alfonso X in the thirteenth century was at Toledo, and he speaks of Christmas, Epiphany, and

¹Ibid., p. 21.

²Ibid., pp. 22-24.

³Ibid., p. 25.

⁴Francisco López Estrada, Introducción a la literatura medieval española (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1952), p. 130.

Easter plays put on by clerics. Two types of liturgical plays are found at Toledo: a brief shepherd scene during Christmas Lauds, the oldest record of which is found in a fourteenth-century breviary, and the dramatic monologue of the Sibyl, apparently in use with costumes and possibly vernacular language by 1500. Thus we see that Lauds at Toledo in 1500 were conducted in much the same way as in Dax, Narbonne, and Cambrai in France in the Middle Ages. Conspicuously absent from Toledo are references to the Visitatio Sepulchri and Ordo Stellae; there is, in fact, no mention of dramatic activities at Easter or Epiphany.¹

What is evidently the oldest extant Spanish liturgical play is found in two late eleventh-century manuscripts written in the Benedictine monastery of Silos, near Burgos. Both manuscripts are breviaries and contain an elementary type of Visitatio Sepulchri. Silos, it is observed, was free of the influence of Cluny, no doubt because its great Saint Dominic had already instituted reforms there. At Compostella, a codex dating from about 1450 contains directions for staging an Easter play, the text of which is given both in this codex and in a manuscript written at the beginning or middle of the twelfth century. This is a fair indication that in many churches, liturgical plays remained the same for centuries. Two Quem quaeritis tropes have been found at Huesca; they must have been written after the city was taken from the Moors in 1096. A fifteenth-century

¹Donovan, pp. 30-50.

Huesca ordinarium,¹ however, though it gives a detailed description of the liturgical ceremonies conducted there, makes no mention of plays. In Zaragoza, at the shrine of Nuestra Señora del Pilar, is found in a fifteenth-century missal the same Quem quaeretis trope as the one sung at Huesca. Since Zaragoza was reconquered in 1118, the trope may well have been borrowed from Huesca. This same library also contains a Consueta antigua--consueta being the Catalan term for ordinarium--which indicates a kind of Easter representation by means of statues, but without impersonation. Also found here is a copy of a liturgical work from the Cathedral of Granada, entitled Las buenas y loables costumbres e ceremonias que se guardan en la sancta yglesia de Granada y en el coro de ella. The presence of copies at Granada, Zaragoza, and Segovia indicates that customs sometimes spread from one diocese to another. This work contains a description of a vivid Visitatio Sepulchri, including a loud and sudden falling of the stone, the reports of two guns, the sounding of trumpets, and the emergence of two boys dressed like angels. Probably composed between 1500 and 1530, it may have come from anywhere. At Palencia, a simplified Easter play was performed from 1500 to at least 1550; and in the cathedral at León, the Sibylline prophecy was sung, from at least the fifteenth century onward, in much the same way as it was at Toledo.²

At Gerona, documents indicate a rather complex performance at the Christmas season of 1360, with special mention of profetas and

¹Instructions for a ceremonial procedure.

²Donovan, pp. 51-65.

sibilas. A liturgical play on the martyrdom of St. Stephen was regularly performed in the Gerona cathedral at the second vespers after Christmas, evidently beginning in 1381. At Valencia, the Representacio de la gloriosa Nativitat de Jesuchrist was customarily performed, from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. St. Mary and St. Joseph, angels, seraphs, cherubs, prophets, and about twenty-five shepherds and shepherdesses took part in the performance. The next mention of a Christmas play at Valencia is in 1440, when Eve--who is a saint, incidentally--is mentioned as one of the characters. Another play, La Palometa, dealt with the manifestation of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, and by the middle of the fourteenth century was received with such enthusiasm that Bishop Vidal de Blanes had to issue an order restraining the public from assisting with the sound effects. Years later, in 1467, this same popular enthusiasm produced a spark which ignited and destroyed the trappings of the great altar. A fourteenth-century missal from Urgel shows that there were religious performances there on holy days, but details are not given. In 1482, fray Iñigo de Mendoza wrote his Vita Christi, a long narrative poem in which a small shepherd play is included. In 1487 the archbishop of Zaragoza, "sin omitir gasto," staged in the Church of the Saviour a performance of La representación de la Nativitat de Nuestro Redentor "por servicio y contemplación de los señores Reyes Católicos, del Infante don Juan y de la Infanta Doña Isabel."¹

¹Patt, pp. 66-81. See also Bonilla, pp. 77 and 89, and Cañete, p. 93.

Three plays written for the Feast of the Assumption, though still intended for performance in the church, are indicative of the gradual change from the simple liturgical play to the more complex miracle play. One of these is an undated fragment which was probably performed at Valencia, perhaps as early as the late fourteenth century; another is the Catalan Representació de la assumció de madona Santa Maria, of the late fourteenth century; and the third is the well-known Misterio de Elche, still performed today, and probably written in the fifteenth century. Late liturgical plays, it can be concluded, were not monopolized by the cities; on the contrary, the smaller the town, the more jealously it preserved its own special play. At Vallibona, in the province of Castellón, a short dramatization of the sacrifice of Isaac survives as part of the Corpus Christi procession, and some villages in the north of Castellón perform on his feast day a play in honor of St. Anthony the Abbot. In Mallorca, two fragments of a play on the conversion of St. Mary Magdalene have been found in a convent. Written in the vernacular, this evidently original work was created in the fourteenth century. Mallorcan liturgical plays, called consuetas, cobles, auctos, obras, and representacions, reached their highest development around 1420. They are suggestive of miracles in their wide variety of subject matter, drawn from the Old and New Testaments and the lives of the saints.¹

¹Parker, pp. 174-175.

Early Religious Drama in the Vernacular

The plays listed in the preceding paragraphs are not very numerous for an area as large as all of Spain west of Catalonia. Were no more liturgical plays put on in this part of Spain during the Middle Ages? If not, how can the lack be explained?

J. M. Font Rius¹ suggests that while the diocese was normally the basic unit of church organization, in Spain the parroquias seemed more vital, especially as the Reconquest went on and churches were reclaimed or built with the best view toward the needs of local residents rather than toward the overall organization. This practice may have meant a greater individuality of churches and monasteries than in other parts of Europe. Donovan proposes three reasons for the apparently sporadic and limited manner in which the liturgical drama penetrated Castile and non-Catalonian Spain. First, the Roman-French rite was brought into Spain as a reform, and monks and clerics were probably not enthusiastic about such novel and non-essential ceremonies as liturgical plays. Second, many of the monks engaged in the establishment of the new rite came, as we have seen, from the Burgundian monastery of Cluny; and no such plays have ever been found there or at any of its priories. Third, the late date of the change of liturgical rite--the last two decades of the eleventh century--coincided with another important historical phenomenon: the rise

¹José María Font Rius, Instituciones medievales españolas. La organización política, económica y social de los reinos cristianos de la Reconquista (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1949), pp. 100-101.

of vernacular literature. The Auto de los Reyes Magos, ascribed by Menéndez Pidal to the middle of the twelfth century, is taken by some historians to indicate an established tradition of vernacular drama. Commenting on the Auto de los Reyes Magos and the French narrative poems of the infancy of Jesus, Donovan says the numerous similarities "establish beyond a doubt that there was a direct relation between them. . . ." This would indicate that vernacular drama was in progress before 1150. Is it not logical that religious plays in the vernacular might be found at the same time vernacular poetry began to achieve prominence, around the first half of the twelfth century? It would help explain the lack of liturgical plays; if plays were being written in Spanish, there would be no need to introduce the earlier and more elementary Latin plays. Pointing out that probably many more vernacular than liturgical plays have been lost, Donovan concludes, "In our opinion, whatever the reason, and whatever the date, when religious plays began to be introduced in Castile on a large scale, they were already in the vernacular."¹

The liturgical drama is, however, considered important by López Estrada, who suggests that the autos which grew out of it heightened popular interest and participation in the solemn religious festivals, and that this spirit not only persisted through the period

¹Donovan, pp. 68-73. The liturgical drama has nevertheless been discussed in this study because of the uncertainties both in the time element and in the relationship between liturgical and vernacular drama. There simply are not enough data to establish with assurance whether or not the liturgical drama gave rise to the vernacular drama, nor, if it did, how heavy the influence was.

of development of the secular drama but was present in the religious plays of the Siglo de Oro.¹ That medieval sentiment should so long have been preserved has been attributed to the fact that "the story of the bloody and protracted strife with the infidel remained impressed on the popular memory, and every sacred building seemed to record the triumphs of a believing ancestry."²

The late beginnings of the religious drama in Spain appear to be in sharp contrast with its later flourishing, hardly equalled anywhere else, especially in the time of Lope de Vega.

... Il faut constater que le théâtre religieux en Espagne, dont nous ne pouvons reconstituer les origines que par approximation, dont nous ne connaissons presque pas l'histoire avant l'éclotieon contemporaine de la Renaissance, a eu tout à coup un développement dont la richesse compense amplement la pauvreté, réelle ou apparente, des débuts.³

That this poverty must have been more apparent than real is suggested by the fact that the often-quoted passage in the thirteenth-century code of law, the Siete Partidas, not only proves the existence of Christmas and Easter plays in Spain, but indicates the cultivation of the drama to such an extent that a secular form known as juegos de escarnio had developed, and that these, pushing their way into the churches, were so secular that they were a cause for scandal.⁴

¹ López Estrada, p. 126.

² Karl August von Hase, Miracle Plays and Sacred Dramas, a Historical Survey, trans. A. W. Jackson (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1880), p. 91.

³ G. Cirot, "Pour combler les lacunes de l'histoire du drame religieux en Espagne avant Gómez Manrique," Bulletin Hispanique, XLV (1943), 61.

⁴ Parker, pp. 170-171.

Further proof of the early existence of vernacular drama in Spain is, of course, the Auto de los Reyes Magos. Although it is usually cited as the first milestone in the development of the Spanish vernacular theater, the suggestion has been made that the freedom of its dialogue gives cause for doubting that Spanish dramatic literature made its first trial with this work.¹

Unfortunately, other dramatic works of this time, if they did exist, cannot be cited; and, in examining those centuries preceding this period, a certain caution must be exercised because of the independence from classic traditions of drama in modern languages. This independence is especially striking when viewed against two pertinent facts: a great dramatic tradition had existed earlier, and ruined classic playhouses were still to be seen on the European landscape.² Searching through the years following the Auto de los Reyes Magos, we find that, except for the Siete Partidas, already mentioned, we must wait until the fifteenth century for documentary evidence that the misterios existed and were being performed outside the church. One such document is the Crónica del Condestable Miguel Lucas de Iranzo, covering the period 1459 to 1471, in which mention is made that almost every day of importance, religious or secular, was marked by "momos de falsos visages, farsas, representaciones y

¹Bonilla, p. 70. See also Donovan, pp. 68-73.

²Cheney, p. 143.

misterios, todo profusamente exornado de músicas y cantares que facían perder el seso a los circunstantes, según la ingénua expresión del cronista."¹

In the account books of the church at Huesca has been found interesting evidence of fifteenth-century plays in honor of St. Vincent, a local martyr. These were, "in all likelihood, in the vernacular and apart from any strict association with the liturgy."²

The development of extra-liturgical drama in Spain is usually related to the festival of Corpus Christi. Although it was established by Urban IV in 1263, the first procession in its observance seems not to have taken place until 1322, in Barcelona. Documents of 1394 speak of representaciones, but these were merely tableaux or cuadros al vivo on carts. In Barcelona, they eventually reached 108 in number, practically exhausting Old and New Testament themes and events from the lives of the local saints. How many of them became plays cannot be determined.³

In Valencia, the Corpus Christi procession was inaugurated in 1355. It consisted of carts bearing a series of tableaux called entramesos, and later--beginning in 1373--roques. A document of 1400 makes reference to scenery and musicians. Represented were St. George and the dragon, Jacob and the ladder, St. Peter and the keys,

¹José Amador de los Ríos, Historia crítica de la literatura española (Madrid: José Rodríguez, 1861-65), VII, 476. (*Italics are his, indicating the words of the chronicler.*)

²Donovan, p. 57.

³Bonilla, p. 77, and Parker, p. 176.

and Noah and the ark. For a long while these figures were statues; not until 1400 and 1404 do we find evidence that some of them were being replaced by men. In 1414, rudimentary dramatic action appeared, and by 1425 some of the tableaux could be called plays of a sort. In 1451 first mention was made of a roque about St. Christopher, but it was evidently a matter of a statue. Finally, in 1527, the account books list a salary paid to a man to portray the saint, but there is still no mention of other actors with whom he could have carried on a dialogue. In 1553 we find among the misteris one entitled Cristofol ab sos pelegrins; the introduction of the pilgrims seems to have been the last step in the development of this play, which is assumed to be the Auto sacramental de San Cristóbal mentioned by Bonilla, who must also have been unable to see it, since he merely expresses doubt as to whether it deals with the Eucharist. Another play, the Misteri de la degollá, is a fusion of three roques: the adoration of the Magi, the flight to Egypt, and the slaughter of the Innocents. A rather complicated Catalan work, the Representació de la assumció de Madona Santa María, may have been written in the fourteenth century. In this play, Jesus is forced to attack three diablillos and whack them with the cross before they will yield the soul of Mary, which Lucifer has given them special orders to hold.¹

Some other works in Catalan have been collected by José Romeu Figueras,² who traces their development from the liturgical drama,

¹Parker, pp. 175-176; Wardropper, pp. 45-47; Bonilla, pp. 80-83.

²Teatre hagiogràfic (Barcelona: Editorial Barcino, 1957), 3 vols.

especially those works dealing with Christmas and Easter. This collection contains the following works: from the twelfth century, an Epístola farcida de Sant Esteve; from the fourteenth century, an Epístola farcida de Sant Joan and a Sermó del Bisbetó; and from the sixteenth century, Misteri valencià de Sant Cristófol, Consueta de Santa Agata, Consueta de Sant Eudald, Consueta de Sant Francesc, Consueta de Sant Jordi, Passió de Sant Jordi, Consueta de Sant Cristòfol, Consueta del martiri de Sant Cristòfol, Consueta de Sant Mateu, Consueta de Sant Crispí y Sant Crispinià, Consueta de Sant Pere, and Consueta de Sant Pau. The Legenda Aurea is named as source for these, with the Passió de Sant Jordi as an exception.

In view of the fact that Cluniac influence and the French-Roman rite were, as we have already seen, established much earlier in Catalonia than in Castilian-speaking regions, it is to be expected that, in the Corpus Christi dramatizations, Castile and Andalucia should reveal a somewhat different development. Nothing is known of processions at Seville, for example, until 1454, when one roca (compare Barcelona's 108) carried persons representing Christ, the Virgin, the four Evangelists, St. Dominic, and St. Francis. Plays are not mentioned until the following century--the century in which Lope de Vega was born.¹

It might be observed here that in Seville the cuadros al vivo did not produce much in the way of real drama; instead, liturgical plays continued to develop inside the church, centuries after they

¹Parker, p. 177, and Wardropper, p. 49.

had disappeared from other European countries, until they reached the state of an elementary auto.¹

To summarize: while elsewhere in Europe the full cycle of miracles (interventions of the Virgin or the saints in human affairs) was complete in the fourteenth century, in Spain there were only tableaux. A few of these did eventually assume dramatic form, and their successors were the fifteenth-century mystery plays (subjects from the Holy Scriptures and from saints' legends). These mystery plays sometimes ran on for days in an effort to cover the whole Jewish dispensation or all of the acts of the apostles.² At the beginning of the sixteenth century, religious drama in Spain was still poorly defined. The terms misterio and moralidad cannot be used so precisely as they can with reference to the rest of Europe. Wardropper uses seudomisterios to describe those works with a Biblical or hagiological episode as theme, and seudomoralidades to indicate those which are allegorical expositions of some moral or religious problem. The seudomisterios relating to the Corpus Christi festival flourished in the sixteenth century, and even in the time of Calderón competed with the autos sacramentales.³

Parker also sees the sixteenth century as marked by the first fully developed miracles or misterios, commonly termed autos, and by "belated moralities," that is, the allegorical plays usually called

¹Wardropper, p. 49.

²Ibid., pp. 143-144.

³Ibid., pp. 149-150.

farsas. Developing from a fusion of the two came the auto sacramental, which owed its subject matter chiefly to the autos and its allegorical technique mainly to the farsas.¹

A few works called farsas sacramentales had usually directed their allegory toward the mystery of the Eucharist; but it is erroneous to trace the auto sacramental to the farsa sacramental only. Auto or aucto, from the Latin actus, originally meant nothing more than a one-act presentation. The fully developed auto sacramental, though usually written in praise of the Eucharist or of the Virgin Mary, sometimes dealt with Biblical or hagiological subject matter, and Calderón himself made a distinction between auto sacramental alegórico and auto historial alegórico. Thus it cannot be insisted that the auto sacramental is always eucharistic. Most autos sacramentales, as has been pointed out, arose from a fusion of miracles with moralities, or of autos with farsas. Some of them it is true, are highly developed moralities. Apart from the difference in length between the auto sacramental and the three-act comedia, the essential distinction of the former is the allegory derived from the farsas. The autos, on the other hand--that is, the early autos or misterios--when left to themselves gave rise to the comedias bíblicas and the comedias de santos.²

That such works survived and eventually reached technical and poetical perfection in the hands of such dramatists as Lope and

¹Parker, pp. 180-181. See also González Ruiz, I, xvi.

²Parker, p. 181.

Calderón has been explained by Parker¹ as the result of the distinctive backwardness of the early Spanish theater. He asserts that unlike the French miracle and morality plays, sixteenth-century Spanish miracles and moralities did not fall into decay and disrepute before the appearance of talented and professional dramatists who were able to make the most of the artistic potentialities of such works. The dramatists now gave them a style and spirit which appealed to the cultured listener; at the same time, the continued use of popular subject matter--such as legends about saints--, occasional injections of humor, especially in the form of the increasingly popular bobo, and other devices meant that there was no lessening of appeal to the uneducated audience.

It must also be observed that the miracle and morality plays had embodied a great national ideal: the preservation of the faith. For centuries the struggle had been against the Moslems; now it was against the Protestant Reformation.

. . . Cuando el Renacimiento italiano vino con su espíritu escéptico, no pudo trocar este patriótico y nacional carácter de la religión en España. Abjurar la fe era renegar de la heroica historia de ocho siglos. Cada español, que lo fuera de verdad, sentía que estaba personalmente identificado con la religión del Estado.²

Faith, continues Professor Bell, was intimately joined to the national temperament.³ And this temperament, with its religious and patriotic

¹Ibid., pp. 181-182.

²Aubrey F. G. Bell, El renacimiento español, trans. E. Juliá Martínez (Zaragoza: Editorial Ebro, 1944), p. 225.

³Ibid.

fervor somewhat flavored with scholasticism, contributed to the "gradual y bien equilibrado desarrollo" of the Renaissance in Spain.¹ Here, the Renaissance did not cause an abrupt break with medieval life and culture, but to some extent revived them; and the medieval religious drama, drawing its life from the people though owing its form to cultured poets, became "one of the most national manifestations of Spanish literature and . . . something splendid and unique in the history of the stage."²

Dramatic Precursors of the Comedia de Santos

It is time now to turn to some of the specific dramatic works, other than the liturgical and Corpus Christi works already described, which can be said to be precursors of the comedia de santos.

Dramatic literature began to take on distinctive characteristics in the early part of the fifteenth century with the Comedieta de Ponza of the Marqués de Santillana (1398-1458) and with the Danza de la Muerte, both poems in arte mayor. The Representación del Nacimiento de Nuestro Señor of Gómez Manrique (1412?-1491?) is the oldest extant dramatic work among those following the Auto de los Reyes Magos.³ "In the simplest liturgical tradition,"⁴ Manrique's Representación was of dramatic character and was undoubtedly acted. It has a

¹Ibid., p. 224.

²Parker, p. 182.

³Julio Milego, Estudio histórico-crítico; el teatro en Toledo durante los siglos XVI y XVII (Valencia: Manuel Pau, 1909), pp. 40-42.

⁴Parker, p. 179.

certain psychological interest; for example, Joseph complains about his dishonor until Mary prays for his enlightenment and an angel reveals to him that she is pure.¹ It might be noted that there are at least five saints in this play: Mary, Joseph, and the angels Gabriel, Michael, and Raphael.² Another interesting feature of the work is its combination of opposite moods, joy at the birth of the Saviour and sadness upon contemplating the Passion to come. Here is seen a hint of the fusion of tragic and comic elements later called the tragicomedia, with the Celestina as its earliest and greatest example.³

Another work by Gómez Manrique is the Lamentaciones hechas para Semana Santa, a finished form of the Planctus Mariae. Both of these works were probably performed in a church or private chapel.⁴

The line between liturgical and profane works, it will be observed, is still very thin. Hardly less secular than these works by Gómez Manrique were the Vita Christi of 1482 and the elaborate Nativity play of 1487, already mentioned.⁵ And as a further indication of the increasingly secular nature of church performances, we have the protest of the Council of Aranda in 1473 against the abuses surrounding the celebrations of the Nativity and of the days of St.

¹Bonilla, pp. 82-83. See also Patt, pp. 69-70.

²The Protestant reader may be surprised to find that angels and the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament are duly inscribed in the register of Catholic saints. See chapter IV.

³Patt, p. 75.

⁴Parker, p. 179.

⁵Above, p. 25.

Stephen, St. John, and the Holy Innocents. The Toledo Council, also of 1473, prohibited church presentations. "These prohibitions certainly indicate that by the fifteenth century plays within the church had become sufficiently developed to have led to various abuses."¹

One other fifteenth-century work known to have been performed elsewhere than in the church was a Magi play acted at Jaén for Easter, 1461, in the palace of don Miguel Lucas, Constable of Castile. Cañete claims not to wish to argue with those who consider Encina the "primitivo creador del teatro nacional. Pero," he continues,

si es cierto, como se ve en la curiosísima Relación de los fechos del muy magnífico é más virtuoso señor el señor don Miguel Lucas muy digno Condestable de Castilla, que por lo menos desde 1460 se hacían ya fuera del templo representaciones con rico y vistoso aparato, claro está que no se puede aplicar en justicia el título de creador de la escena española a quien representó su primera égloga pastoril la noche de Navidad de 1492.²

Before turning to Juan del Encina, however, we must mention the Celestina, or Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea, of Fernando de Rojas. Written sometime in the last decade of the fifteenth century, this long novel in dialogue form is of great importance for its characterization and its realism. The list of sixty-three sixteenth-century editions in Spain is some indication of its wide influence.

We shall now look briefly at the sixteenth century, endeavoring to mention those works and directions of dramatic development which might have influenced the comedia de santos.

¹Patt, p. 82.

²Cañete, p. 48. This is, of course, the same document as that cited by Amador de los Ríos; see above, p. 31, note 1.

In 1492, Juan del Encina (1468?-1529?) presented a Christmas play in the hall of the palace of his patron, the Duke of Alba. Encina thus may be said to have been the first professional playwright to create texts of Nativity plays.¹ The title of this work was Egloga representada en la Noche de Navidad de Nuestro Salvador; but, although they spoke of the miraculous birth, its shepherd characters devoted many coplas to praising the duke and duchess. A second égloga given immediately afterward portrayed the shepherds' celebration of the Saviour's birth. In 1496 a Cancionero of Encina's works appeared, in which, following the two églogas, were found two representaciones: La pasión de nuestro Redentor, among the characters of which St. Veronica appears, and La santísima resurrección de Cristo, in which the disciples, near the tomb, discuss the Master's appearing to them. These two églogas, for their lack of dramatic action, are not suggestive of the comedia, while Encina's later secular works, such as the Egloga de tres pastores, the Auto del repelón, and the Egloga de Plácida y Vitoriano, are indicative of the comedia in its most primitive form.² Other religious titles in this early Cancionero are Egloga representada en la noche postrera de Carnaval, Egloga representada en la misma noche de antruevo o carnestolendas, and Egloga trovada por Juan del Encina, representada la noche de Navidad.³ In the Egloga de las grandes lluvias (1498), shepherds discussing the

¹Patt, p. 94.

²M. Romera-Navarro, Historia de la literatura española (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1928), pp. 109-112.

³Amador de los Ríos, VII, 493.

heavy rains are interrupted by the angelic announcement of the Saviour's birth.

Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, who died about 1531, is important for his originality and for his attempt to classify dramatic techniques. A Diálogo del Nacimiento, written between 1512 and 1517, was his only religious play. A dialogue between two shepherds, it contains no saints.¹

Gil Vicente (1470?-1539?), although a native of Portugal, wrote eleven plays in Castilian. He wrote for courtly rather than popular taste; but his poetry contained folk elements as well as lyric grace. His Auto de San' Martinho was performed in a Lisbon church on Corpus Christi in 1504; at that time, according to Wardropper, any Biblical or hagiographic subject was appropriate.² The Auto da Sibilla Cassandra, also in Portuguese, offers the prophetic Sibyl, so popular in the Middle Ages, along with a group of Old Testament prophets--who, incidentally, are saints. Solomon, Moses, and Abraham, the latter two of whom are saints,³ also appear. Another work in Portuguese recently attributed to Gil Vicente is the Obra da Geraçam humana. A partly allegorized version of the parable of the good Samaritan, it has a number of abstract personages along with Sts. Adam, Gregory, Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine.⁴ Vicente's Auto Pastoril Castelhana (1502), Auto dos Reis Magos (1503), and

¹Patt, p. 145; Crawford, pp. 37-38.

²Wardropper, pp. 163-164.

³See note 2, p. 38.

⁴Wardropper, pp. 167-168.

Auto dos Quatro Tempos were performed in the Christmas season. In the last-named work, Saint David sings portions of several Psalms and closes with the Te Deum.¹

Lucas Fernández (1474?-1542) sought to follow the example of Juan del Encina. Among Lucas Fernández's compositions were three religious works: the Egloga o Farsa del Nacimiento de Nuestro Redemptor Jesucristo, the Auto o Farsa del Nacimiento de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo, and the Auto de la Pasión. The two Nativity plays, published in 1514, are noteworthy in the transition from the representation of idealized Biblical or holy persons to the portrayal of characters with human sentiments and reactions.² With roles for a number of saints, including Peter, Matthew, the three Marys, Dionysius, and Jeremiah, the Auto de la Pasión has been called Fernández's best work.³ Unlike many other writers of that epoch, Fernández was careful in this play not to have the Saviour on the stage.

Diego Sánchez de Badajoz (? -1550) wrote twenty-three of his twenty-eight dramatic works on religious themes. While some of them, such as the Farsa Teologal, the Farsa racional del libre albedrío, and the Farsa de la Iglesia, posed moral or dogmatic problems, others were based on sacred history or legends of the saints. Examples of the latter group are these Farsas: de Santa Bárbara, de Salamón, de Tamar, de los Doctores, de Isaac, de Santa Susaña.

¹Patt, pp. 122-134 and 142-145; Crawford, p. 36.

²Romera-Navarro, p. 112.

³Cañete, pp. 85-88.

del rey David, de Abraham, de Moysén, de la Salutación, and de San Pedro.¹ These titles alone give us six saints, Barbara, Susanna, David, Abraham, Moses, and Peter; and the Farsa del juego de cañas contains recitations by many prophets.² The reader is reminded³ that the four major and twelve minor prophets are all registered among the Catholic saints.

The Farsa de Moysén contains an anachronism in that St. Peter interprets the action. Later, in the autos sacramentales, anachronisms mixed with allegory came to be easily accepted.⁴

The Farsa de Santa Bárbara is one of the first examples of a play written for performance on the festival of a saint; St. Barbara was held in special reverence at Badajoz. The brief play presents an angel who tells of the young martyr's sufferings. Acting as prosecutor, the Devil finally angers a shepherd to the extent that the shepherd drives him away, and Christ and an angel then crown the young woman. The Farsa del rey David seeks to establish the symbolical connection between David and Christ. The Farsa de San Pedro sings the praises of a trade-guild; the portions referring to the Eucharist are insignificant. The Farsa de Santa Susaña is noted for vivid portrayal of character and for successful sustaining of interest through a series of dramatic situations. The Danza de los Siete Pecados deals with the defeat of Adam (also a saint) by the seven deadly sins, and his final realization of God's

¹Bonilla, pp. 116-117.

²Wardropper, p. 118.

³Above, p. 38.

⁴Patt, pp. 199-206.

mercy as revealed in the Eucharist. The Virgin Mary appears in the Farsa de la Salutación. Diego Sánchez's Farsa Moral and Farsa Militar were performed during Corpus Christi festivities in Seville in 1560 with the respective titles Rey Nabucdonosor and La soberbia y caída de Lucifer. St. Daniel no doubt had a role in the first, St. Michael in the second.¹

Lope de Rueda (1510?-1565) has been credited with breaking for the first time the chains which held the drama to the liturgy of the church.² Except for a mere mention of Christmas in the Farsa del Sordo, which has been attributed to him, his plays are secular.³

Juan de Timoneda (? -1583), who edited the works of Lope de Rueda, wrote about 1558 "a dogmatic Auto del Nacimiento."⁴ He has been called "el primer poeta de nombre conocido que compone dramas propiamente eucarísticos."⁵ An example of these works is the Auto de la fuente de los siete sacramentos, in which St. John, encouraged by an angel, answers a number of theological questions.⁶ The Auto de

¹The plays mentioned in this paragraph are described in Crawford, pp. 46-49.

²François Piétri, L'Espagne du siècle d'or (Paris: Librairie Arthème-Fayard, 1959), p. 152.

³Patt, pp. 271-272.

⁴Ibid., p. 213.

⁵Ludwig Pfandl, Historia de la literatura nacional española en la edad de oro, trans. J. Rubio Balaguer (Barcelona: Sucesores de Juan Gili, 1933), p. 133.

⁶Wardropper, p. 252.

la quinta angustia que Nuestra Señora pasó al pie de la Cruz, published at Burgos in 1552, portrays the visit of St. Joseph of Arimathea to Pilate and the grief of Jesus' mother and friends as they prepare for His burial.¹

The Tragedia Josefina of Micael de Carvajal has been called the best religious play of the sixteenth century.² Other than that he was born at Plasencia in the early years of the sixteenth century and that his works reveal humanistic studies, little is known of Carvajal's life. Documents have been found which indicate that he was married in 1534 to Teresa Núñez de Almaraz, and that she later took legal steps to retard his squandering of their fortune.³

The first edition of the Tragedia Josefina, probably of 1535, has been lost; but an incomplete copy of a 1540 edition, a 1545 edition, corrected by the author and printed in Seville, and a 1546 edition from Toledo have come to light. The work evidently began with five acts and 4,256 lines. Too unwieldy--Carvajal remarked that it took six hours to perform--it was cut and rearranged.⁴

The language of a Dr. López de Montoya, who read or perhaps even saw the play, is cited by Gillet⁵ as evidence that the Farsa llamada Josefina and the Comedia llamada Josefina are the same; but

¹Crawford, p. 140.

²Romera-Navarro, p. 195.

³Micael de Carvajal, Tragedia Josefina, ed. Joseph E. Gillet (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1932), pp. xi-xiv.

⁴Ibid., p. xxxiii.

⁵Ibid., pp. xxx-xxxi.

we cannot be certain that the Tragedia llamada Josefina, as the play is called by Colón and in the colophon of the three extant editions, is also identical.

The subject itself was not new; El sueño y venta de José had been part of the Corpus Christi festivities at Gerona since early in the fourteenth century.

The Tragedia Josefina follows the story of Joseph and Jacob as found in Genesis 37 and 39-49. Nearly every departure from the Biblical account can be explained by one of the following possible sources: Moslem versions of the story of Joseph, such as the Poema de Yuçuf; Jewish traditions, such as the details of Zenobia's asking Joseph to play for her, his refusal to raise his eyes, and her threats to kill him; the Moralité de la vendition de Joseph, part of the great Mystère du viel testament, printed in Paris around 1500; and the Catalan Historia de Joseph fill del gran patriarcha Jacob, by Joan Roig de Corella, translated into Castilian and printed in Valladolid in 1507.¹

It is also noted that the shepherd who speaks a form of sayagués and the villancicos which end four of the acts are in the tradition of Encina, while the title (a feminine adjective from a masculine name) and the free-spoken faraute reveal an acquaintance with Torres Naharro.²

¹Ibid., pp. xxxviii-xliv.

²Ibid., p. xlvii. For an explanation of the faraute, which precedes all but the first act, Gillet leans on Alonso de Carvalho, who, in his Cisne de Apolo (1602), indicates that introyto, faraute, and loa are about the same.

The play is weak in construction and balance, and contains too much Senecan rhetoric. But in a certain theatrical deftness, in the realism of the bargaining scene and the convincing shepherd profanity, in the flashes of Jewish pride of race, and in the contrast between the characters of Joseph and Zenobia, Carvajal was superior. Especially is he remembered for the creation of Zenobia, perhaps the first woman of flesh and blood since the *Celestina*. She is driven by a force she cannot resist.

In her fierce and somewhat coarse vitality there is a definite suggestion of pain; lust is humanized and ennobled by suffering, suggesting the classical Phaedra. On this, especially, do we rest Carvajal's claim to an important place in the history of the drama; passion had already spoken in the *Celestina*, the passion of young love, still almost inarticulate; but nowhere yet in modern Europe had it risen to such fulness of power and to such nearly tragic dignity.¹

Though he is not registered among the Catholic saints, Joseph's life was saintly. Some of the Old Testament saints--David, Elijah, and Jonah, for example--had their moments of human failure; but no such lapse is recorded for Joseph. In the Tragedia Josefina, his saintliness is observed in the love and resignation he reveals in the plaint over his mother's tomb (1073-1132);² in his references to the God of heaven in his dealings with Pharaoh (4133-34), giving Him the credit for the ability to interpret dreams (2827); in his concern for his brothers' comfort while they are in Egypt (3483-94) and in his

¹Carvajal (Gillet ed.), p. lvi.

²Parenthetical numbers refer to lines in the Gillet edition.

forgiving spirit toward them (3859-60);¹ and, of course, in his refusal of Zenobia's invitations.² Joseph's "personificación de la castidad" and the "inspiración y buen gusto"³ of the play make it a major precursor of the saints' plays.

Cañete, after declaring that the religious theater is not given enough credit as a spring from which later literature came, points out that the form of the Tragedia Josefina, with its frequent changes of scene in the same act and its general lack of unity of time and place, resembles the structure of a seventeenth-century comedia. "¿De dónde sino del drama sacro, es decir, del Teatro religioso, o eclesiástico, o como se le quiera nombrar, viene la libertad escénica de Lope de Vega y su escuela?" He suggests that we compare Carvajal's drama with Calderón's Los triunfos de Josef for substantiation of his claim.⁴

First printed under the name of Carvajal and Luis Hurtado de Mendoza is the Auto de las Cortes de la Muerte (Toledo, 1557), recalling the Danza de la Muerte theme.

¹"Ya lo pasado dexemos
que en ello no pensare."

²In lines 2287-91, for example, Joseph says:
"Senora el caso es tan feo
puesto que tu no lo fuesses
que aunque piecas me hiziesses
no complire tal desseo."

³Romera-Navarro, p. 195.

⁴Cañete, pp. 180-181. For a comparison of the Carvajal and Calderón plays, see pp. 191-203.

This work is not unworthy of the author of the Tragedia Josefina, unfolding, in a series of striking panels, a broad panorama of sixteenth-century life. The Cortes, over which Death presides, are opened with due ceremony, and peals of trumpets introduce, in long but varied succession, a bishop and a shepherd, a knight and a rich man, a pauper, a nun, a married man, a widow, a judge, a lawyer and various others, all to argue their cases, some of them asking for longer life, one or two for death. The World, the Flesh and the Devil discuss their claims, which are referred for an opinion to the assessors, S. Augustin, S. Jeronimo or S. Francisco.¹

Gillet thinks Hurtado had little or nothing to do with the play. Nearly twice as long as the Tragedia Josefina, it was perhaps never performed.²

Cañete attributes the Auto de la prevaricación de nuestro padre Adán to Carvajal.³ Gillet concedes that the prologue and two choruses are like those of Carvajal; but the vocabulary, syntax, and style show no special similarity to the Josefina or the Cortes.⁴

Bartolomé Palau (1525?- ?) is remembered for having been the first writer to attempt the historical drama, and this work, written about 1569, was about none other than a saint: La historia de la gloriosa Santa Orosia. Palau, an Aragonese, chose to combine the experiences of Orosia as told in the missals and breviaries with the story of La Cava, Count Julian, and Roderic as found in the Crónica General. This play, culminating in the martyrdom of the saint, was

¹Carvajal (Gillet ed.), p. xvii. Crawford, p. 153, also lists Luther among the prosecutors.

²Carvajal (Gillet ed.), pp. xviii, lvi.

³Cañete, p. 125. This Auto is no. 42 in the Rouanet collection (see appendix B).

⁴Carvajal (Gillet ed.), p. xix.

imitated by Tirso de Molina when he wrote La joya de las montañas y verdadera historia de Santa Orosia. Another work by Palau about a saint is unfortunately not extant: La historia de Santa Librada y sus ocho hermanas. This play was probably written for performance in 1569, when the saint's relics were solemnly transferred to Burbáguena.¹

Juan de la Cueva (1550?-1610?), though he did anticipate the school of Lope de Vega in premeditated use of national themes, variety of metrical forms, combination of the comic with the tragic, abandonment of the unities of time and place, utilization of the romances, and attempts at the capa y espada play,² did not leave any works in which there are saints.

Still to be mentioned for their possible contribution to the development of the comedia de santos are a number of works by anonymous and less important writers of the sixteenth century.

Ninety-six works, all anonymous except for the popular Auto de Caín y Abel³ of Jaime Ferruz, are contained in the collection

¹Ibid., p. 154. See also Francisco Yndurain, "Para la cronología de la «Historia de Santa Orosia» de Bartolomé Palau," Archivo de Filología Aragonesa, V (Zaragoza, 1953), 167-169; and M. Serrano y Sanz, "Bartolomé de Palau y su historia de Santa Librada," Boletín de la Real Academia Española, IX (Madrid, 1922), 301-310.

²Fitzmaurice-Kelly, pp. 259-260, 292; Romera-Navarro, p. 200.

³St. Abel the patriarch, according to The Book of Saints, p. 2, is invoked in the litany for the dying.

usually referred to as the Códice de autos viejos.¹ Of these, only the Entremés de las esteras treats a secular theme. These works were written between 1550 and 1575, approximately.² Auto, it will be remembered, was at this time apparently applicable to any type of one-act religious play. Wardropper indicates that many works, at least up to the time of Lope, were without the direct progress to the Eucharist which characterized the autos sacramentales in their highest development. Often they merely alluded to it, and some lacked even the allusion.³

Lacalle has divided the collection into three groups:

1. Asuntos bíblicos.
 - a. Autos del Antiguo Testamento.
 - b. Autos de Navidad.
 - c. Autos de Pasión y Resurrección.
2. Autos de santos.
3. Alegorías. Farsas sacramentales.⁴

The first work in the collection, however, reveals a weakness in this classification, namely, that many Old Testament figures are duly registered among the saints of the Roman Martyrology. Because of this problem, because the collection is not always accessible, and because the writer wishes to show the frequency with which saints appear in these works, the entire list of ninety-six plays may be found in Appendix B. It may be noted that saints appear in fifty-seven of the ninety-six works in the collection, and fifty-one of

¹Léo Rouanet (ed.), Colección de autos, farsas y coloquios del siglo XVI, Vols. V-VIII of the Bibliotheca Hispanica (Barcelona: L'Avenç, 1901).

²Crawford, p. 142.

³Wardropper, p. 25.

⁴Angel Lacalle, Historia de la literatura española, 10th ed. (Barcelona: Bosch, 1946), pp. 172-173.

the works are dramas in which the importance of the saint or saints is primary. Not only were the holy saints familiar personages, but even God the Father (Dios Padre) appears in eight of them, and in one there are separate roles for Dios Padre, Dios Hijo, and Dios Espíritu Santo. Audiences were evidently accustomed to seeing Divinity portrayed on the stage; they were perfectly willing to have God the Father portrayed by a man--so long as he wore gloves.¹

The following sixteenth-century works, as yet unmentioned, can be gleaned from the list prepared by Jenaro Alenda:² El bautismo de San Juan Bautista, performed in Valladolid in 1527; Abraham cuando llevó su hijo a sacrificar, dated 1552 or earlier;³ La conversión y martirio de San Dionisio; a Conversión de Sant Pablo, distinct from the two by the same title in the Rouanet collection; La conversión de Santa Taez, who later was written about by Rojas and Zárate; a two-act La degollación de San Juan Bautista, dated 1590 and different from that contained in the Rouanet collection; a Coloquio de la Expectación de Nuestra Señora, in which there are roles for Sts. Mary and Joseph and an angel, but no allegorical characters; La juventud de San Isidro Labrador de Madrid, reminding us of the trilogy to be written by Lope de Vega; an anonymous 1590 work entitled El martirio de San Lorenzo,

¹González Ruiz, I, xlvii.

²"Catálogo de autos sacramentales, historiales y alegóricos," Boletín de la Real Academia Española, III-X (1916-1923), passim.

³The date of this play, and its designation as an auto cuadregesimal, lead to the suspicion that it might have been written by Vasco Díaz Tanco.

performed in the presence of Felipe II, and said by Durán to be the first comedia de santos in three acts and in verse; El Nacimiento de la Virgen, written around 1580 by Padre Juan de Cigorondo; El Nacimiento del Hijo de Dios Humanado, of unknown date and authorship; La Purificación de Nuestra Señora y presentación de su Hijo en el templo; San Ignacio de Loyola; San Joaquín y Santa Ana; San Juan Bautista, possibly a source for later works under the same title by Montalbán and Monroy; San Roque; Auto de San Vicente Mártir, by Alfonso Alvarez, a contemporary of Gil Vicente; Auto de Nuestra Señora del Rosario y Tesoro escondido; El tránsito glorioso de San Josef, by Juan Caxesi; La visitación de Nuestra Señora y Santa Isabel, by tres ingenios (such collaboration was unusual for a sixteenth-century auto); and an Auto de San Francisco, which, unlike the Rouanet San Francisco, is eucharistic, but contains roles for San Francisco, Santo Domingo, San Agustín, Santa Clara, and San Junípero.

Still other titles are to be found in an interesting study by Sánchez-Arjona.¹ Though an effort has been made to eliminate duplications, it is possible that a few of these titles may, through abbreviated recording by the keeper of the anales, represent works already mentioned but with a somewhat different title. The dates indicate the year of performance in Seville.

1532, Auto de Adán y Eva.

1532, La invención de la Cruz. (St. Helen.)

¹José Sánchez-Arjona, Noticias referentes a los anales del teatro en Sevilla desde Lope de Rueda hasta fines del siglo XVII (Seville: Rasco, 1898), passim.

- 1560, La muerte del Rey Saúl. (Was St. David in the cast?)
- 1561, El rey Nabucodonosor y el horno. (The three Hebrew youths are saints.)
- 1561, El rey Saúl cuando libró Micol a David.
- 1564, El martirio de San Esteban.
- 1578, Las Tablas de Moisés.
- 1582, Santa Felicitas y otros mártires.
- 1582, La muerte de Orías y casamiento de David con Bethsabée.
- 1582, Cuando Nuestra Señora salió de Egipto para Galilea.
- 1584, Las llaves de San Pedro.
- 1586, La Apocalipsis de San Juan. (Here the name of the author, Bartolomé López de Quirós, is given, with the statement that he won a prize for this work.)
- 1586, La Iglesia y Adán.
- 1589, San Onofre.
- 1589, La Nao de San Pedro y Triunfo de la Iglesia.
- 1591, Nuestra Señora de Loreto.
- 1592, Vida y rapto de Elías.
- 1593, Daniel.
- 1593, David y Navalcarmelo.
- 1594, Santa María Egipciaca, by Alonso Díaz.
- 1594, San Antonio, also by Alonso Díaz.
- 1594, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe.¹
- 1596, San Leoncio.

¹Sánchez-Arjona (p. 88) cites the opinion of José María Asensio that this is La Soberana Virgen de Guadalupe, and that it is a play Cervantes wrote in Algiers "para representarlo en Baño con los otros cautivos."

1597, Santa Elena.

1599, El Arca de Noé.

From a variety of sources come the titles of many more sixteenth-century dramatic works which may be accepted as possible predecessors of the comedia de santos. These works, with a few brief comments on their relationship to this study, are listed in Appendix C. Most of these compositions appeared as sueatas, which were being printed early in the sixteenth century. Prominent among the authors represented in this list (Appendix C) are Fernán López de Yanguas, who wrote the first Castilian play on the subject of the Assumption of the Virgin and one of the earliest plays dealing with the Eucharist; Juan de Rodrigo Alonso, whose Comedia de Sancta Susaña may underlie Diego Sanchez de Badajoz's Farsa de Sancta Susaña or Vélez de Guevara's Santa Susana or both; and Vasco Díaz Tanco de Fregenal, who claimed to have contributed to the sacred drama thirty-eight works, including seventeen autos cuadragesimales, written for performance on Sundays in Lent, Thursday and Friday of Holy Week, and Easter Sunday. Díaz Tanco's works have been lost, and even of the titles only a few remain.¹

The Teatro de Colegio

There is yet another line of dramatic development which should not be omitted: the teatro de colegio. As a trend in the development

¹These titles, and fuller information regarding the other works and authors mentioned here, are given in Appendix C.

of the drama, the teatro de colegio has been termed a manifestation of imitation of the classics.¹

Medieval literary culture took refuge in abbeys, cathedrals, and monasteries. Monks and priests were probably the authors of the early misterios and moralidades, while students and clérigos wrote the so-called comedias elegíacas, Latin poems such as the twelfth-century Pamphilus--which, incidentally, gave the first portrayal of a Trotaconventos type.²

Dramatic performances were probably given in the universities of the Middle Ages, as a diversion, as a literary exercise, and for edification. Elio Donato's Grammar and his commentaries on Terence were used as texts in medieval classes. In Bethlehem, St. Jerome taught Latin to his young students by explaining the plays of Terence. This practice must have been wide-spread, for the tenth-century Saxon nun Roswitha, upset by Terence's plays, tried unsuccessfully to send them into oblivion by writing in Latin the religious dramas Galiciano, Dulicio, Abraham, Wisdom or Faith, Hope and Charity, and others.³

That the works of Terence were known in Spain is stated by Enrique de Villena in his Consolatoria, written in 1423. Seneca and Plautus were also known, and works of fourteenth-century Italians

¹Bonilla, p. 145.

²Justo García Soriano, "El Teatro de Colegio en España," Boletín de la Real Academia Española, tomo XIV, cuaderno 67 (April, 1927), pp. 235-236.

³Ibid., p. 237.

were sometimes read. The Historia Baetica, about the fall of Granada, was written by the Italian Carlo Verardi (1440-1500) and performed in 1492 in the palace of Cardinal Rafael Riario.¹

In this sort of atmosphere, warmed by the fervor of the Renaissance, appeared writers such as Juan del Encina and Fernando de Rojas who would lay the foundation of the Siglo de Oro.²

The religious plays of the colegio were usually based on Biblical or hagiological subjects; one example is the Tragedy of Saint Paul, which was performed at Medina. Most comedias de colegio, however, were combinations of elements classical, allegorical, theological, Biblical, moral, and popular. Saints, personifications of abstract qualities, demons, kings, mythological gods, shepherds, and pícaros were liable to appear together. The contrasts between the noble and the degenerate, the sad and the joyful, were like those of real life.³

. . . Las comedias humanísticas y escolares tuvieron extraordinaria influencia en los orígenes y formación de nuestro teatro nacional. A vista de las representaciones universitarias y de colegio se despertó la imaginación de los que fueron luego nuestros más geniales escritores y dramaturgos. Por no citar más que dos nombres más gloriosos de nuestro siglo de oro, recordaremos solamente que Cervantes estudió de muchacho en el colegio que la Compañía de Jesús tenía en Sevilla, y Lope de Vega en el colegio de jesuitas en Madrid.

Thus García Soriano indicates his opinion of the importance of the teatro de colegio in the history of the Spanish drama, and relates it to Lope de Vega.⁴ And, though Lope was a student in Madrid, he

¹Ibid., pp. 238-239.

²Ibid., p. 239.

³Ibid., p. 275.

⁴Ibid., p. 276.

probably knew of the fanfare surrounding at least one production of the Seville colegio.

When, in the early 1570's, the enrollment at the colegio of Seville was nearing a thousand, it was decided to build a larger school. The name chosen was Colegio de San Hermenegildo, largely as a result of the fervor aroused toward this saintly prince by Ambrosio de Morales when Morales visited Seville in 1569. On September 10, 1580, the transfer of studies to the new school was officially commemorated by "grandes fiestas religiosas y literarias," among them a Tragedia de San Hermenegildo, a five-act play chiefly in Spanish verse, though some speeches are in Latin and Italian. Interesting details of staging and even the names of the student actors are preserved in the Municipal Archives of Seville.¹

The plot deals with a conflict between paternal devotion and religion in Visigothic Spain. Ermengild is persuaded by Bishop St. Leander to embrace Catholicism against the wishes of King Leovgild, his Arian father. The dramatic scenes culminate in Ermengild's martyrdom.²

García Soriano calls this play a "pieza dramática meritísima, verdadera obra maestra, no sólo del teatro escolar, sino también de nuestro repertorio del siglo XVI." The author's name unfortunately is lacking both in the manuscript and in the relación of the Seville Archives. García Soriano rejects the possibility that Mal-lara wrote

¹García Soriano, tomo XIV, cuaderno 69 (October, 1927), pp. 538-539.

²Ibid., pp. 539-541.

it, for he died nine years before the festive opening of the school.¹ Later, Hoz y Mota was to lean on this work for his El primer blasón de España y defensor de la Iglesia, San Hermenegildo.

In 1587 a work given at the Colegio de San Hermenegildo honoring the Archbishop of Seville, Rodrigo de Castro, combined pastoral, Biblical, and allegorical elements. It was about a saint of the Old Testament: Coloquio de Moisés o del palacio y la rusticidad.² But examination of the other descriptions in this long article by García Soriano reveals that most of the colegio works were dialogues or colloquies with personified virtues and vices. The use of historical personages, such as Ermengild and Moses, seems to have disappeared.

Jenaro Alenda, however, gives us the title of one other work written for student performance on the festival of a saint: the Diálogo del Beato Luis Gonzaga, by Padre Ximeno.³ Though no date is given, it is this writer's guess that the work was prepared for the observances surrounding the saint's beatification in 1605.⁴

An evaluation of the influence of these works has already been cited, with the observation that Lope de Vega studied in a school of the Jesuits in Madrid. It is also of interest that he was commissioned to write a festival play for the University of Salamanca when that institution celebrated the dogma, then so greatly

¹Ibid., p. 563.

²García Soriano, tomo XIV, cuaderno 70 (December, 1927), pp. 620-621.

³Alenda, III (1916), 389.

⁴The Book of Saints, p. 33. He was canonized in 1726.

disputed, of the Immaculate Conception.¹ Sts. David, Jeremiah, John the Baptist, John's father Zacharias, and Brigid are among the characters of this play, which was entitled La limpieza no manchada.

Thus we come to the dawn of the seventeenth century. The last two or three decades of the sixteenth have revealed that the religious drama is moving in two increasingly clear directions: the auto sacramental, connected to the Corpus Christi festival, and the comedia divina, which, on losing its dependency upon the religious festival, rose to hold a special category in the popular theater.² During the first decade of the seventeenth century, Spanish dramatic production came to be generally prolific. In Madrid, in April of 1600, dramatic entertainments were so prevalent that Philip III saw fit to appoint a council of nine to make recommendations as to subject matter and details of presentation. At least twenty-one dramatic companies held out in Madrid, despite the royal suggestion that four would suffice. In 1603 it was decreed that only eight companies would be permitted; again the regulation went unheeded.³ The popularity of the comedia was gaining so rapidly as to baffle the king's council. And this popularity was not limited to Madrid. It is known, for example, that in Seville, in a period of thirty-four months (1611-1614), 526 comedias were performed.⁴

¹Hase, p. 91.

²Pfandl, p. 130.

³For these and other decrees, see Hugo Rennert, The Spanish Stage in the Time of Lope de Vega (New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 1909), chapters X and XI. The major decrees are outlined below (chapter V).

⁴Sánchez-Arjona, p. 147.

CHAPTER II

NON-DRAMATIC PRECURSORS OF THE COMEDIA DE SANTOS

Among the possible sources and antecedents of Lope de Vega's comedias de santos are numerous non-dramatic works. Following the plan of the preceding chapter, mention will be made of those works, earlier than the sixteenth century, which may have provided material for the plays about saints; the number of such works in the sixteenth century, however, again as in Chapter I, makes an appendix necessary. But before turning to those works, let us consider the extent to which Lope might have referred to them.

It has been said that Lope had "a supremacy . . . in the ransacking of the literature and history of all times for his plots and dramatic situations. . . ." ¹

Roberto F. Giusti, writing on the comedias of Lope and their many classifications, states that Lope drew from all that he knew of sacred and profane letters and of the works of earlier dramatists, and that he knew how to select in such a way as to create "definitivamente la comedia española, de raíz popular y nacional, hecha para gustar y entretener a un siglo entero, trazando el camino a todos sus contemporáneos y sucesores." ²

¹R. Trevor Davies, The Golden Century of Spain (London: The Macmillan Co., 1937), p. 287.

²Lecciones de literatura española, 11th ed. (Buenos Aires: Estrada, n. d.), p. 354.

Del Río also mentions the array of sources used by Lope, with a concluding note on the variety even within the religious category:

. . . Finalmente, fondo muy importante, es la literatura religiosa con sus asuntos bíblicos, vidas de santos, leyendas piadosas, misterios, temas litúrgicos y teológicos fundidos con el sentimiento religioso, ya místico, ya ascético, o de simple fe popular.¹

For many years, it was evidently customary to dismiss Lope's learned allusions as an artificial erudition. It was thought that he could not possibly have been as widely read as his elaborate notes in, for example, the Isidro and Jerusalén conquistada would indicate. It has been pointed out, however, that Lope was from 1590 to 1596 secretary to the Duke of Alba, that this post probably did not entail very heavy duties, that his literary output during those six years was slight, and that he spent most of that time at Alba de Tormes, where, in all likelihood, the Duke had a well-stocked library. Given leisure time, intellectual interests, and an unusual memory, Lope could well have accumulated a store of miscellaneous learning.²

. . . That Lope's memory was extraordinarily retentive is proved beyond a doubt by his acquaintance with the Bible. . . . He was always ready with an allusion or a quotation from any part of the Old Testament, from Genesis to the most obscure of the Minor Prophets.³

¹Angel del Río, Historia de la literatura española (New York: Dryden Press, 1948), I, 263.

²A. K. Jameson, "The Sources of Lope de Vega's Erudition," Hispanic Review, V, No. 2 (April, 1937), 126-138.

³Ibid., pp. 137-138.

His thorough acquaintance with the Bible possibly owed something to the fact that versions in both Latin and Spanish were available to him.¹

Apart from the Bible, one of the earliest works borrowed from by Lope de Vega was Barlaán y Josafat, attributed to St. John Damascene (676?-749?). Menéndez y Pelayo asserts that citations in Vincent de Beauvais and Jacobo de Voragine (see below) indicate numerous versions in Latin. Among these was one said to have been done by a Jorge de Trebisonda, and another by the printer Anastasio in 1470. "Lope leyó seguramente, o la versión latina de Trapezuncio, o la castellana de Arce Solórzano, que se había publicado en 1608. . . ."²

Gustave Reynier³ observes that the religious drama in Spain leans on the traditions of occidental saints, enlarged in the tenth and eleventh centuries by those of eastern ones like Catherine, Thais, Alexis, Margaret, Mary of Egypt, the Seven Sleepers, and Barlaam and Josaphat. A Greek version of Metaphrastes, written in

¹In 1543, in Antwerp, El Nuevo Testamento de nuestro redemptor y salvador Iesu Christo, translated by Francisco de Encinas, was published. In 1553, Jerónimo de Vargas published in Ferrara the Biblia en lengua española, translated by Duarte Pinel. And in 1556, there appeared in Venice El Testamento Nuevo, translated by Juan Pérez. Various excerpts from the Bible, such as Psalms, Proverbs, Genesis and Exodus, and some of the Epistles, were also printed during this period. --Clara L. Penney, List of Books Printed Before 1601 in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America (New York: Hispanic Society of America, 1929), pp. 27-29.

²M. Menéndez y Pelayo (ed.), Obras de Lope de Vega (Madrid: Academia Española, 1894), IV, xi. Sts. Barlaam and Josaphat first appear in the Church rolls in the fourteenth century, in the Catalogus Sanctorum of Pedro de Natalibus.

³"Le drame religieux en Espagne," Revue de Paris, 7^e année, tome 2 (1900), p. 826.

the tenth century and later translated into Latin by Lipomanus, made known to Western Europe the lives of certain of these saints, including the celebrated Cyprian who sold his soul to Satan, and Justina, third-century martyrs.¹ Works which lean heavily on the tradition of Metaphrastes, according to Menéndez y Pelayo,² are the Catalogus Sanctorum by Pedro de Natalibus, the Sanctorum priscorum vitae by Lipomanus, and the De probatis Sanctorum historiis by Surio.

Eulogio's Memoriale Sanctorum, written between 851 and 856, gives us insight into the situation of the pueblo mozárabe. The piety with which he describes the persecution of the Christians by the Moors has been said to lead one to "rendir adoración a los cadáveres de los mártires, las memorias de sus virtudes." The Documentum Martyriale had to do with the martyrdom of Sts. Flora and María; and Eulogio's last work, finished in 857, is known as the Apologético de los santos.³

Toward the end of the eleventh century, Grimaldo gathered the legends about St. Dominic into his Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos. His admiration for this hero of the monastic life was evidently similar to that which he felt toward the conquering Cid.⁴

¹An earlier and simpler version of their story was that of St. Gregorius Nazienze, an archbishop of Constantinople who lived in the fourth century.--Samuel M. Waxman, "Chapters on Magic in Spanish Literature," Revue Hispanique, XXXVIII (1916), 325-463.

²Obras dramáticas de Lope de Vega, IV, lxiii.

³Amador de los Ríos, II, 99-100.

⁴Ibid., II, 185-186.

A comparable motivation led to Renallo Gramático's Vida y pasión de Santa Eulalia, written about 1106. Rodulfo, a monk of Carrión, before the middle of that century wrote Algunos milagros de San Zoylo, the patron of his monastery; and Juan, diácono of Leon, wrote in the following century the Vida de San Froilán (Vita Sancti Froylani, Episcopi Legionensis).¹ Juan Diácono also wrote the "fuente primordial de la leyenda de San Isidro." This "códice precioso" was followed by Ortiz Lucio and Villegas in their versions of the Flos Sanctorum; but it was not translated into Castilian until 1622, when it was published by Fray Jaime Bleda.²

A twelfth-century work of general background and wide influence which Lope may have known is the Libri quatuor Sententiarum of Peter Lombard, pupil of Abelard. A manual collected from the Scriptures and the works of the early fathers, it formed an encyclopedia of the system of Catholic ethics and theology. Its influence did not begin to wane until the middle of the fifteenth century, when the main work of St. Thomas was introduced into the schools. The revival of Thomism, dating from the first full-length commentary of the Italian Dominican, Giacomo Cajetan (1469-1534), received its first impetus in Spain from the work of Francisco Vitoria, Thomist expositor at the University of Salamanca. From Vitoria onwards the Dominican order, assisted by the Jesuits, zealously published volume after volume illuminating the works of St. Thomas. "In addition to the purely theological work produced

¹Ibid., p. 186.

²Menéndez y Pelayo (ed.), Obras dramáticas de Lope de Vega, IV, cxxi-cxxii.

by the Orders during the sixteenth century and onwards there existed a corresponding activity in the field of exegetical, patriotic and hagiographical literature." (*Italics supplied.*)¹

The poem entitled Vida de Santa María Egipciaca belongs to the first part of the thirteenth century. It seems to be an imitation of the Vie de Sainte Marie l'Egiptienne, which is usually attributed to Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln (1175?-1253).² ". . . La Vida de Santa María Egipciaca . . . es indudablemente el monumento de mayor importancia que poseemos de tan apartada edad, así por su considerable extensión como por el pensamiento religioso que encierra."³

From the same manuscript comes the Libre dels Tres Reys d'Orient. The legend of the three kings, Sts. Balthasar, Caspar, and Melchior, has been traced partly to oral tradition, partly to the Protoevangelium Iacobi Minoris (apocryphal in Greek) and the Historia de Nativitatae Mariae et de infantia Salvatoris. Composed during the

¹Ramón Silva, "The Religious Dramas of Calderón" ("Liverpool Studies in Spanish Literature," second series: Spanish Golden Age Poetry and Drama, Part III; Liverpool: Institute of Hispanic Studies, 1946), pp. 134-136. When one of the Jesuit theologians, Luis de Molina, tried to reconcile the Thomist doctrine of free will with the Augustinian views on grace, his book, the Concordia liberi arbitri cum gratiae donis (Lisbon, 1588), was violently attacked. It became such a bone of scholastic contention that the case had to be arbitrated in Rome. Molina was exonerated by Paul V only seven years after the Jesuit's death, in 1607. This decision bridged the gulf between the Augustinian and Molinist positions. Repercussions in literature were clearly felt, and Tirso de Molina dramatized in El Purgatorio de San Patricio one of the essential elements of the controversy, the doctrine of predestination.

²Agustín Millares Carlo, Literatura española hasta fines del siglo XV (México: Antigua Librería Robredo, 1950), pp. 58-59.

³Amador de los Ríos, III, 30.

eleventh or twelfth century, these accounts were brought from France by the Benedictines of Cluny, probably in the form of liturgical dramas.¹ The Libre dels Tres Reis d'Orient tells, as might be expected, of the early part of the life of Christ, beginning with the story of the three saintly kings; but it also describes a scene at the cross. The legend is this: During the flight to Egypt the holy family stops to rest; two bandits accost them and prepare to rob them and kill the child. One of the robbers relents and offers the family his home as an overnight lodging place. His leprous son is miraculously healed when bathed in the same water as the Holy Infant. Years later, a thief hanging near Christ recognizes Him and is saved; it is the leprous boy, now known as St. Dismas. The other thief, unrelenting and lost, is Gestas, the son of the bandit who had wanted to kill the child Jesus.²

In the first half of the thirteenth century, Gonzalo de Berceo wrote nine principal works, including La vida de Santo Domingo de Silos, La vida de San Millán de la Cogolla, El martirio de San Lorenzo, Loores de Nuestra Señora, Duelos de la Virgen el día de la pasión de su Hijo, Los milagros de Nuestra Señora, and La vida de Santa Oria. Although Berceo disdained popular acclaim, his language gives him a popular flavor. "Berceo cree y siente como creían y sentían el siglo y la nación a que pertenece."³ Berceo was

¹Bonilla, p. 71.

²Millares Carlo, pp. 59-60.

³Amador de los Ríos, III, 255.

preceded and evidently inspired by Grimaldo¹ in the Vida de Santo Domingo; and in the Vida de San Millán, although he added certain poetic circumstances, he leaned on a work by St. Braulio, a disciple of St. Isidore. Munio, a Benedictine monk and her confessor, had written on Santa Oria, and Prudencio had written about San Lorenzo.² St. Dominic was widely revered, and in the last part of the thirteenth century, all the miracles attributed to him between 1232 and 1293 were recorded in a "muy curioso libro" entitled Miráculos de Sancto Domingo, by Pero Marín. The importance of this work is that it definitively introduced religious history, previously almost always recorded in Latin, into the national literature.³

Legends of the miracles of the Virgin Mary were collected early, in such books as the Speculum historiale, by Vincent de Beauvais (about 1200-1264). The collections spread throughout Europe, and were translated, revised, and augmented in the language of the people. The Marian works of Berceo and Alfonso X were the most important Spanish representatives of this literary manifestation.⁴

Alfonso X el Sabio, who reigned from 1252 to 1284, is the probable author of Las cantigas de Santa María. Among saints' legends recorded in Las cantigas, in addition, of course, to many about the Virgin, are a vision regarding San Basilio, San Mercurio, and the

¹See above, p. 64.

²Amador de los Ríos, III, 258-259; Valbuena Prat, I, 76.

³Amador de los Ríos, IV, 69.

⁴López Estrada, p. 130.

Emperor Julian (No. 15), the story of San Juan Boca de Oro (No. 138), and the dream about San Fernando and the ring for a statue of the Virgin (No. 292). The first of these legends is also found in the Primera Crónica General. The second of the Cantigas records the first miracle, the legend of the mantle the Virgin gave to San Ildefonso for his service and which, at his death, his successor don Siagrio took for himself, dying as a result of the sacrilege.¹

Another work from the court of Alfonso el Sabio, the General Estoria, is mentioned by Menéndez Pidal, along with the Gesta Romanorum, as a possible source for legends about persons of religious importance.²

Between 1270 and 1275 there appeared the De Vitis Sanctorum, or Legenda Aurea, written by Jacobus de Voragine, who later became archbishop of Genoa. Known as the father of the poor, he was beatified in 1816. "From the fact that there are over five hundred manuscript copies of the book in existence, and that within the first hundred years of printing it appeared in more than one hundred and fifty editions and translations, it is obvious that the Legend was in extremely wide demand."³

It might be observed that legenda did not mean "myth" or "fable," but lectio or "lesson." There were lectionaries containing

¹Frank Callcott, The Supernatural in Early Spanish Literature (New York: Instituto de España en los Estados Unidos, 1923), pp. 45-46.

²Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Review of Colección de autos, farsas y coloquios del siglo XVI, by Léo Rouanet, Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, V (May, 1901), 259-261.

³The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine, trans. Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger (New York: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1941), p. vii.

the lives of the saints, and Jacobus popularized them into a sort of layman's lectionary. But it must be remembered that behind the author, whoever he was, who first put these accounts in writing is an anonymous, manifold author--the masses, the people themselves, who fashioned, added to, and even substituted for, what is authentically known of the saints. The saints, with their perfection--their virtues and their freedom from every fault--were the heroes of medieval folk.¹

An anonymous Flos Sanctorum appeared in 1480 in Huete or Zamora;² there was, apparently in 1521, an edition bearing the name of Pedro de la Vega;³ other editions followed, two in the 1560's and two in the 1570's;⁴ and finally, in the 1580's, Alonso de Villegas, chaplain of the Mozarabic chapel in Toledo, published a Flos Sanctorum which replaced the older translation of the Legenda Aurea.⁵ The Cuenca edition (1594) of the Villegas Flos Sanctorum was particularly well received.⁶

¹Ibid., pp. viii-x.

²Homero Serís, Manual de Bibliografía de la literatura española (Syracuse: Centro de Estudios Hispánicos, 1948), p. 852.

³Margarete Rösler, "Versiones españolas de la leyenda de San Alejo," Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica, III (1949), No. 4, 333.

⁴See Appendix D.

⁵Rösler, p. 334; Serís, p. 852. The former gives the date of this edition as 1589, the latter as 1583.

⁶Arturo Farinelli, "Mistici, Teologi, Poeti e Sognatori della Spagna all'Alba del Dramma di Calderón," Revista de Filología Española, I (1914), 314.

In 1599, with Part II following in 1601, Padre Pedro de Ribadeneyra published, in Madrid, another version of the Flos Sanctorum. The Villegas and Ribadeneyra editions of this work are probably the two greatest single sources for Lope's comedias de santos.¹ The various sixteenth-century editions of these works appear in Appendix D, but mention might be made here of a later (1615) printing of the Villegas work in Barcelona,² and of the following printings of the Ribadeneyra version: Madrid, 1610; Barcelona, 1623; Barcelona, 1630 (in Latin); Barcelona, 1643 and 1705.³ As early as 1604, the Ribadeneyra work has been translated into Italian.⁴ Ribadeneyra also wrote the Libro de vidas de santos que comúnmente llaman Extravagantes, published in Madrid in 1604, and the Segunda parte de los Santos Extravagantes in 1609.⁵ Cayrasco de Figueroa's Templo militante was also a sort of sanctorum, but in rhyme.⁶

Though Lope used many of the legends found in the Flos Sanctorum, he did considerably more than merely write dialogue for them.

Escenificó, ciertamente, buena parte del Flos Sanctorum del padre Ribadeneyra; empero injirió, por lo común, en sus comedias un conflicto de pasión humana, a fin de infundirles interés y variedad. De donde, si perdieron en sinceridad religiosa, ganaron como obras profanas.⁷

¹Angel González Palencia (ed.), Obras de Lope de Vega, (Nueva edición; Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1930, IX, ix.

²Serís, p. 852; Rösler, p. 334.

³Serís, p. 852; Rösler, p. 333.

⁴Rösler, p. 333.

⁵Serís, p. 852.

⁶Waxman, pp. 376-377.

⁷Luis Astrana Marín, Vida azarosa de Lope de Vega (Barcelona: Editorial Juventud, 1935), p. 277.

Sancta María Magdalena, written in the last part of the thirteenth century,¹ speaks further of the search for inspiration in the pious traditions of the peninsula.²

The Vida de Sanct Ildefonso, written in the early years of the fourteenth century by Beneficiado de Ubeda, is a simple account of the life of this disciple of St. Isidore.³

The legend of St. Patrick is traced, in Spain, to a Leonese version of the widely read Tractatus de Purgatorio by the monk Enrique de Saltrey. The first Catalan translation, by Fray Ramón Ros de Tàrraga, was done in 1320. Toward the end of the same century, the vizconde Ramón de Perellós placed the legend in an autobiographical work called Viatge d'en Perrellós al Purgatori.⁴

Under the reign of Juan II (1406-1454), a number of works were written about the traditions of the ancient church. Frequently held up as "maestros venerables y acabados modelos de prelados católicos" were St. Isidore and "su dulce discípulo" St. Ildefonso. About 1444 there appeared an outstanding example of literature in their honor:

¹The reader's indulgence is requested as we jump back to the century in which we began to trace the development of the Legenda Aurea.

²Amador de los Ríos, IV, 62.

³Ibid.

⁴This account was translated into Latin in 1621 by Philip O'Sullivan, an Irish Jesuit. The popularity of the legend is indicated by the success of the novela devota entitled Vida y purgatorio de San Patricio, by Juan Pérez de Montalbán. It is possible that Lope's El mayor prodigio y el purgatorio en vida and, later, Calderón's El purgatorio de San Patricio owe something to Montalbán's book and its success. --María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, "La visión de trasmundo en las literaturas hispánicas," printed as an appendix in Howard R. Patch, El otro mundo en la literatura medieval (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1956), p. 377.

Martínez de Toledo's Vidas de San Isidoro y de San Ildefonso.

Occasional rhymed passages indicate a possible acquaintance with the Poema de San Ildefonso, written more than a century earlier.¹

The epistles of Juan Ruiz de Corella were also written during the reign of Juan II. They included the following: La istoria de la gloriosa santa Magdalena, La vida de la gloriosa santa Ana, and La vida de la Sacratísima Verge María, Mare de Deu, Senyora nostra, en rima.²

Among other religious works from the period of Juan II are the Istoria del Bienaventurado Señor Sant Millán . . . escripta et ordenada por Sant Braulio, obispo de Çaragoça, and the Istoria de la translación del glorioso cuerpo de Sant Pelíes. These works, translated by the monks of San Millán de la Cogolla, indicate the growing popularity of the vernacular even within the cloister.³

A Diálogo de San Gregorio appears in one manuscript from this period, in addition to the Istorias just mentioned and a translation into romance of twenty-five Sermones de San Agustín.⁴

Pedro Martín in 1425 offered his Sermones en romance. These were four discussions: "Vicios y virtudes," the "Padre Nuestro," "Los mandamientos de la ley de Dios," and "Las Obras de misericordia." The book presents a strange gathering together of David and Aristotle,

¹Amador de los Ríos, VI, 241-246.

²Ibid., VII, 18-19.

³Ibid., VI, 309-312.

⁴Ibid., p. 314, footnote.

St. Isidore and Petrarch, as well as Sts. Paul, Bernard, John Chrysostom, and Augustine.¹

In a letter of 1490, the chronicler Alfonso de Palencia mentions his Vita Beatissimi Ildefonsi archiepiscopi Toletani. The work was not printed.²

Also about 1490, and apparently in Zaragoza, Gonzalo García de Santa María published Las vidas de los sanctos religiosos, a translation of St. Jerome's I Vitas sanctorum patrum.³

La Vida de San Josafat, by the Catalan Francisco de Alegre, was published in Barcelona in 1494. This book was purchased by Columbus' son in 1513 for one real.⁴

Perhaps this not unreasonable price suggests the popularity and wide availability of books about saints. Certainly the number of sixteenth-century books about saints and pseudo-saints indicates a wide reading, not only among the playwrights, but among the reading public. There were, indeed, so many works about saints in the sixteenth century that we are forced merely to list them as possible sources of information for Lope and the other authors of comedias de santos. Appendix D contains this list.

¹Ibid., p. 320.

²Ibid., VII, 154-155.

³Penney, p. 135.

⁴Parinelli, p. 314.

CHAPTER III

TWO PROMINENT FORCES IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SPANISH LIFE: RELIGION AND LOPE DE VEGA

Religion in Golden Age Spain

The Political, Cultural, and Social Scene

Politically, the Spain of the time of Lope de Vega still held first rank among world powers, but during the reign of Philip II (1556-1598) the first symptoms of exhaustion could be seen. Although Philip had taken Portugal and was looking hungrily toward France and England, the Low Countries, pushed to extremes by religious persecutions, in shaking off Philip's authority announced to the world the weakening of Charles V's great empire. This decay, however, was not so readily apparent as it would have been at a later time. Great empires tended to live for a while on memories of faded power; and Spain still had vast possessions, treasures from the New World, and famous armies.¹

Culturally, Spain was at a peak seldom described in the pages of history. There was, during the reigns of the first four Philips, splendor not only in literature, but also in sculpture, painting, architecture, and music. Men of philosophy, history, science, law,

¹Louis de Viel-Castel, Essai sur le théâtre espagnol (Paris: Charpentier, 1882), I, 18-20.

and theology were all productive.¹ François Piétri, writing on the cultural importance of the Golden Age, said, "Il semble qu'aucun pays, à aucun moment de son histoire, et sans excepter la Renaissance italienne ou notre étincelant XVII^e siècle, n'ait jamais fourni un aussi volumineux tribut à l'histoire de la pensée et au progrès de la civilisation."² Piétri uses the term "siècle d'or" to refer to a period reaching from the last years of the fifteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth, a period "dont la splendeur, dans le domaine de la pensée et de l'art comme dans celui de la puissance politique, demeure, semble-t-il, inégalée."³

Socially, Lope's Spain retained a characteristic vigor, a deep feeling of national grandeur, great respect for royalty, enthusiasm for military glory, a taste for adventure, an impassioned gallantry, and a most fervent religious zeal. The patriotism and the piety of the period are called exaggerated by some. The combination of these characteristics produced a way of life somewhat different from that in most of Europe. It was original and picturesque, but did not assure the well-being of the individual; public morals had elegance of form, but an undercurrent of energy frequently resulted in revenge and murders; laws had little control over personal matters, but this liberty allowed passions to break out more freely.

¹Nicholson B. Adams, *The Heritage of Spain* (rev. ed.; New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1959), pp. 134-138, 194-206.

²Piétri, p. 7.

³Ibid., p. 11.

S'il y a jamais eu un état social favorable au développement de l'art dramatique, c'était sans doute celui-là, puisque, sans cesser d'être la vraie et sincère expression du pays et du temps, il pouvait présenter ces tableaux extraordinaires, ces scènes romanesques, ces traits vigoureux et originaux dont l'effet est si puissant sur les imaginations, même aux époques où ce ne sont plus que des peintures de fantaisie.¹

The Religious Scene

Of all the traits of the Spanish people, religion has been said to be so important in their life and soul that it is their most distinguishing characteristic.² The great intellectual questions of the day were religious, and these rose "over any other economic or political problem whatsoever."³ Kathleen Pond wrote of Spain:

. . . It is outstanding among those European countries in which the roots of Catholicism have penetrated most deeply. . . . The Spanish outlook on life is essentially that of the Faith, a preoccupation with the spiritual to the neglect, sometimes of the material. . . . It is a country where people do not shrink from paying the price for spiritual experience.⁴

These deep roots of Catholicism, of course, reach far back into history. Valbuena Prat puts it this way: " . . . Un hilo de oro de teología y piedad fervorosa ata al mundo celeste las letras de todo nuestra historia. Cultura española, cultura católica, por

¹Viel-Castel, pp. 21-22.

²David Rubio, The Mystic Soul of Spain (New York: Cosmopolitan Science and Art Service Co., 1946), p. 39.

³Ibid., p. 55.

⁴Kathleen Pond, The Spirit of the Spanish Mystics (London: Burns and Oats, 1958), p. v.

esencia."¹ David Rubio commented that it is not strange "that Spain, from the moment she embraced Catholicism, has adhered to its every precept with all the tenacity inborn in the race."² This determined consistency of religious tradition has been mentioned by José María Pemán: " . . . España fué el país que continuó todos los valores espirituales, literarios o científicos, de la tradición medieval, enriqueciéndolos con nuevas aportaciones renacentistas."³ Cañete has written, "Para el español de la Edad Media lo primero en su corazón, como en el de la sociedad, era la creencia religiosa: Dios antes que el hombre."⁴ If, indeed, spiritual matters were first in the mind of the medieval Spaniard, and all spiritual values of Medieval Spain continued through the Golden Age, it is not surprising that Spain was the great bulwark against the Protestant Reformation, and that Valbuena Prat concluded, "La tónica de la época era la del triunfo de la vida religiosa sobre la heroica y cortesana." He goes on to cite the interesting example of Sor Margarita de la Cruz, daughter of Maximilian II, who preferred the convent of the Descalzas Reales above marriage to Philip II.⁵

¹Angel Valbuena Prat, Antología de poesía sacra española, (Barcelona: Editorial Apolo, 1940), p. 11.

²Rubio, p. 39.

³José M. Pemán, Algunos valores fundamentales del teatro de Lope de Vega (Buenos Aires: Cumbre, 1942), p. 18.

⁴Cañete, Teatro español, p. 75.

⁵Valbuena Prat, La vida española en la edad de oro, según sus fuentes literarias (Barcelona: A. Martín, 1943), p. 99.

The close relationship between secular and religious life was one of the medieval traditions maintained in the Golden Age. The heroism of the cloister was as much admired as that of the battlefield, and exploits, whether military or religious, were accomplished through the same sort of determination.¹

Sánchez Albornoz also places the saint with the hero.

Todo el pueblo no vivió, claro está, heroica ni santamente, pero se dejó seducir por el arquetipo humano del héroe o del santo y reverenció, honró, exaltó, veneró, imitó a quienes daban muestras de santidad o de heroísmo; y se enorgulleció de ellos como de seres de excepción y les otorgó el aliento de su crédito.²

The vast number of paintings and statues of saints, the importance and number even today of processions and romerías, testify as to the place held by these pious heroes and heroines in the mind of the seventeenth-century Spaniard.³

Of course, some scholars assert that Spain's religion in the seventeenth century was little more than a composite of outward appearances. Kathleen Gouldson, for example, has this to say:

The seventeenth century in Spain was an age of reflected glory and idealism. Although the visionary fervour of the conquistadores and inquisitors had degenerated into mere greed and jealousy, this was not always apparent to the superficial observer. The outward forms of religion with which people still occupied themselves were now little more than a social

¹Amador de los Ríos, II, 185; Miguel Figuerola y Miranda, El sentido barroco de la obra de Lope de Vega (La Habana: Cultural, 1935), p. 47.

²Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, España, un enigma histórico (Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1956), II, 584.

³A. Serrano Plaja, España en la edad de oro (Buenos Aires: Editorial Atlantida, 1944), p. 79.

duty. Traditionally, therefore, religion continued to be a prominent factor in Spanish life, and as such finds its way into the drama of the period.¹

No attempt will be made here to decide whether religion was primarily a social duty in seventeenth-century Spain; but we do agree that "it continued to be a prominent factor in Spanish life"--not only in the Golden Age, but, with marked durability, in modern times. Havelock Ellis observes an outward laxity, but does not consider it a sign of irreverence. After mentioning children playing in the corners of the church, a dog curled up in the chair by the high altar at Tudela, and a cat strolling around and being petted during mass at Gerona, he continues:

It would be a serious mistake to see here any indifference to religion; on the contrary, this easy familiarity with sacred things is simply the attitude of those who in Wordsworth's phrase "lie in Abraham's bosom all the year," and do not, as often among ourselves, enter a church once a week to prove how severely respectable, for the example of others, they can show themselves.²

For further evidence that much of the Spain here under consideration still exists, the reader is referred to Ortiz Echagüe's España Mística,³ in which 310 illustrations reveal practices, costumes, statuary, bodily attitudes, etc., that would almost make one

¹Kathleen Gouldson, "Religion and Superstition in the Plays of Rojas Zorrilla," in Spanish Golden Age Poetry and Drama ("Liverpool Studies in Spanish Literature," second series; Liverpool: Institute of Hispanic Studies, 1946), II, 89.

²Havelock Ellis, The Soul of Spain (New York: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1931), p. 14.

³José Ortiz Echagüe, España mística (San Sebastián: M. Conde López, 1943), 248 pp.

believe, if it were possible, that the photographs were taken during the Middle Ages.¹

There is, then, no reason to doubt that religion was a prominent part of life in the Spain of Lope de Vega.

Es seguro que durante los siglos XVI y XVII España se dió toda al servicio de su creencia, mientras en los otros pueblos de Occidente los intereses nacionales triunfaron sobre el servicio de la fe.²

When a nation gives itself over to its religious beliefs, the influence of the church filters down to the very details of daily life. This influence had been strongly reinforced by a series of drastic reforms carried out by Queen Isabella and Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros. " . . . The Church in Spain presented a moral and intellectual standard which was probably unequalled elsewhere in Europe at the time."³ It has been estimated that a quarter of the adult population of Spain was, by 1570, clerical; and a statement of the Cortes of 1626 indicates that there were, excluding nunneries, 9,088 monasteries in the nation.⁴

The great number of the clergy, and their active roles in all aspects of ordinary life, contributed to the keeping fresh of

¹Yet another indication that Roman apostolic Christianity still permeates Spanish life was observed recently (1962) when a University of Florida Spanish professor was told by a Madrid landlady that she could not conceive of a man's being good without being a Catholic.

²Sánchez Albornoz, II, 242.

³Davies, p. 10.

⁴Ibid., p. 289.

religious traditions in the minds of the populace.¹ Jesuit colleges and missions were in every important town, and the preaching of the Jesuits, who spearheaded the Counter-Reformation, "had an immense effect on the revival of religious zeal during the latter part of the sixteenth century."² We can agree, then, that "the religious tendency of the Spanish drama is a faithful reflection of the age in which it was created."³

The obvious result of the influence of religion upon all aspects of life was a remarkable national unity. "In court, in camp, and in everyday life the atmosphere of rigid unified religion enveloped all things and persons."⁴

Pocos pueblos, como el español de la edad de oro, presentarán una tal cohesión en su estructura ideológica. La política, la literatura, el arte y por tanto la vida toda de la que aquellas actividades son manifestaciones superiores, están impregnadas de una misma substancia espiritual y ésta es la religión. Más aún: la religión católica, cuyos principios substantivos eran comunes a todos.⁵

This does not mean, however, that religious attitudes in Spain were identical to those of other lands.

¹José Deleito y Piñuela, La España de Felipe IV, Vol. VII: La vida religiosa española bajo el cuarto Felipe; santos y pecadores (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1952), p. 14.

²Davies, p. 288. Menéndez y Pelayo joins Davies in attributing to the reforms started by Cisneros and to the Jesuits the failure of the Reformation in Spain.--Historia de los heterodoxos españoles (Santander: Aldus, 1946-1948), IV, 404-405.

³Davies, p. 288.

⁴Martin A. S. Hume, The Spanish People (New York: Appleton, 1914), p. 376.

⁵Serrano Plaja, p. 74.

Hard, severe, and ascetic, as a protest against Moorish grace, cleanliness and elegance, and equally against the sensuous beauty with which the Italians had invested their worship, the Spanish mind revelled in the painful, self-sacrificing side of religion, which appealed to their nature. They became a nation of mystics, in which each person felt his own community with God, and, as a consequence, capable of any sacrifice, any heroism, any suffering in His cause.¹

The "pueblo de teólogos."--That seventeenth-century Spaniards were a "nation of mystics," a "pueblo de teólogos," is the next point we wish to make. The religious plays of the time of Lope, even those dealing with the most profound religious questions, were not above the heads of the audiences. After mentioning the "profundo sentimiento religioso" of Lope's Spain, Ricardo del Arco y Garay continues:

. . . El sentimiento católico es el alma de toda nuestra cultura y de nuestras grandezas en aquel período. . . . Era España un pueblo, no ya de católicos, sino de teólogos. . . . Lope puso sus piedras en el grandioso monumento del Catolicismo español.²

Menéndez y Pelayo has written, "Bien puede decirse que todo español era teólogo entonces. . . . España podía llamarse con todo rigor un pueblo de teólogos."³ Another student of Golden Age Spain defines a "tesoro común de todo el pueblo: la religiosidad española, la herencia de los padres, la nota fundamental del carácter nacional."⁴ The popular theology of the day was characterized by a profound

¹Hume, p. 376. (Italics inserted.)

²Arco y Garay, p. 70.

³Heterodoxos, IV, 407-408.

⁴Pfandl, Historia de la literatura, p. 130.

familiarity with things religious.¹ Writing on the comedias a lo divino, another scholar has asserted that the public which enjoyed and even demanded them must have had a thorough acquaintance with ecclesiastical history and monastic life, and even the interiors of religious establishments; otherwise many details and allusions would be meaningless.² Sainz y Rodríguez leans on documents pertaining to the trials of heretics as proof that the general populace was well acquainted with matters of theology, and declares that there were cases where congregations protested flaws in the sermons they heard from orthodox priests.³ J. D. M. Ford wrote, "It cannot be repeated too often that unreserved religious faith and blind patriotism infuse the spirit of the Golden Age as exhibited in the vast dramatic output of the time. . . ."⁴ González Ruiz describes the spectator of Golden Age dramatic performances in Spain as modest and simple, commonly illiterate or with only slight schooling, but with a bomb-proof faith and a theological knowledge which enabled him to grasp the greatest complexities and deepest abstractions of the autos sacramentales.⁵ Wardropper concludes, "La teoría del «pueblo teólogo» es la única que se ajusta a los hechos históricos."⁶

¹Ibid., p. 68.

²Viel-Castel, I, 124.

³Pedro Sainz y Rodríguez, Introducción a la historia de la literatura mística en España (Madrid: Voluntad, 1927), p. 200.

⁴J. D. M. Ford, Main Currents of Spanish Literature (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1919), p. 121.

⁵González Ruiz, I, 111.

⁶Wardropper, p. 87.

Religion in daily life.--We wish now to mention some of the particular manifestations of religion among this "pueblo de teólogos." It is generally agreed that the influences of religion filtered down to the smallest details of everyday life: "La religión penetraba y regulaba toda la vida española, mezclándose hasta en lo más nimio, familiar y profano."¹ Américo Castro asserts that these matters, rather than internal, were largely external; that rather than of a concept of a spiritual organization headed by Christ, "la petrificada armazón de la Iglesia . . . consistía para la inmensa mayoría de sus adeptos (que lo eran todos los cristianos españoles) en rezos, en ceremonias, en cultos de santos, en residuos de viejas supersticiones, en multitud de cosas, en suma bien visibles y terrenas."²

Entertainments--dramatic and otherwise--were not exempt from the influence of religion.

. . . La nation entière a tellement associé la religion à tous les actes de sa vie que, même dans ses plaisirs, elle a aimé à en trouver l'image.³

The Spaniard, says Lucien Dubech, "mêle à tout la religion, en particulier au spectacle pour lequel il a un goût extraordinaire. Si le théâtre sortit partout de la religion, en Espagne il n'en sortit pas, il y resta."⁴

¹Deleito y Piñuela, p. 11.

²Américo Castro, "Lo hispánico y el erasmismo," Revista de Filología Hispánica, Vol. II, No. 1 (1940), p. 2.

³Reynier, p. 825.

⁴Lucien Dubech, Histoire générale illustrée du théâtre (Paris: Librairie de France, 1931-1935), II, 168.

In one region, religious feast days consumed a third of the days of the year. Fields, rivers, winds--there was nothing that was not blessed. In times of fear or drought, the bodies of saints were brought out in procession.¹ It can hardly be denied that superstition is here closely linked to religion. Deleito y Piñuela suggests that religion became more and more materialistic and external as the seventeenth century progressed, leaving aside the simpler faith of the sixteenth century for the superstitions of the seventeenth.² The power of the evil eye, the omens of the flight of birds, the existence of good and bad days, the influence of the stars on human lives, and appearances of the dead were a few of the principal superstitions. "A la vida, al pensamiento, al arte, a todas las manifestaciones de la sociedad, alcanzaron las supersticiones en la España austriaca."³

An important manifestation of superstition, says Deleito y Piñuela,⁴ was the awesome auto de fe, such as that of Lograno (1610), those of Córdoba (1625 and 1627), and those of the Castilian Inquisition. An all-day auto de fe of 1632, which might today be called an outburst of anti-semitism, was attended by throngs, including the

¹Deleito y Pinuela, pp. 27-28.

²Ibid., pp. 26, 96, 184-186. The Tribunal de superstición ladina (1631), by the Aragonese cleric Gaspar Navarro, is cited as an example of contemporary awareness of superstitious practices.

³Ibid., pp. 186-187. Not every one, particularly among the cultured class, subscribed to these beliefs. Calderón, for example, fought astrology directly in El astrólogo fingido and condemned black magic in El mágico prodigioso.

⁴Ibid., p. 183.

king and queen. It punished a group of judaizantes accused of heaping indignities upon an image of the crucified Christ. Popular enhancement of the story had the image weeping, bleeding, and miraculously resisting fire.¹ Lope de Vega's play, El niño inocente de la Guardia, suggests the violent popular resentment of the day against those who practiced Hebrew rites.

Demonology was another prominent factor in the religious beliefs of the seventeenth century. Whether called brujos, duendes, demonios, hechiceros, or diablos, these devils--and the business of dealing familiarly with them--were considered quite real. Some informed persons scoffed at them, "pero el vulgo sentía hacia ellos verdadero pánico." Many persons refused to go to bed until dawn, since only the crowing of a rooster brought relief from the nocturnal power of the witches. Pacts with the devil and possession by demons were frequently mentioned in books, sermons, and street-corner conversations. The records of the Inquisition indicate that in 1641 a certain Isabel Bautista had at her command seven devils in the form of toads. Satan himself, it was believed, sometimes appeared as a toad, and occasionally as a dog, cat, rooster, black hog, or a dark-colored mule. More frequently, however, he appeared as a goat; once in a while he appeared as a man dressed in black. It has been said that the devil was so constantly feared by seventeenth-century Spaniards that he served as the explanation for all morbid mysteries, in much the same way as the microbes of today.²

¹Ibid., pp. 357-366.

²Ibid., pp. 214, 249-255.

Magic, witchcraft, and other occult beliefs in the drama of the Siglo de Oro stem from at least four principal sources: Greek and Roman literature, romances of chivalry, oriental and Moorish folklore, and local folklore.¹

The Moors were noted for their occult arts; and the translation into Spanish of the Picatrix, an Arabic book full of magic, did much to popularize magic in Golden Age drama. Moorish magicians and astrologers appear in a number of plays; and "Rojas' La Celestina was unquestionably a great factor in popularizing witchcraft in the drama of the Siglo de Oro."²

Magic, witchcraft, and other occult beliefs were, of course, motifs used in the drama of other European countries as well as Spain. These motifs are on occasion merely comic or theatrical devices; but the attitude of most authors is revealed as holding that man's free will cannot be coerced by any occult power.³

Among the conjurers, interpreters of dreams, readers of clouds, and casters-out of evil spirits were the saludadores, who claimed the power to heal with their breath, saliva, or even mere sight and touch. The cure of madness was claimed as a special gift, and these powers were attributed to either Santa Catalina or Santa Quiteria.⁴

The names of the saints, the Virgin--and God--were continually heard; this was another manifestation of religion in seventeenth-

¹Mario N. Pavia, Drama of the Siglo de Oro: A Study of Magic, Witchcraft, and Other Occult Beliefs (New York: Hispanic Institute, 1959), p. 149.

²Ibid., p. 150.

³Ibid., p. 151.

⁴Ibid., pp. 254, 258.

century Spanish life, and one with direct bearing on the present study.¹

The cult of the saints.--The seventeenth century has been called Spain's century of the saints.² That saints were looked upon as heroes has been established,³ and one writer refers to them as "hombres elevados hasta Dios."⁴ Vossler⁵ comments on the ease with which saints move through everyday currents of life:

En las crónicas, en los cantares de gesta, en los romances y en la escena de los españoles . . . se mueven héroes y santos de una manera tan viva y natural como si no hubieran muerto nunca. . . . En la manera de ver el mundo, y en el arte de los españoles, lo divino está en íntima relación con lo humano."

In support of this last statement, Vossler offers Tirso's play, Santo y sastre, in which San Homobono, a tailor of Cremona, rises to heaven with a cross in his right hand and scissors in his left. Regional saints, such as Isidro of Madrid and Fermín of Pamplona, were held in great esteem by their respective townspeople, and "el español creyente contaba entre la innumerable serie de sus santos los mejores y más poderosos medianeros entre los hombres y la justicia divina."⁶

¹Saints and sainthood will be taken up in chapter IV; here we are dealing with the cult of the saints.

²Figuerola y Miranda, p. 47.

³Above, p. 79.

⁴Sánchez Albornoz, I, 264.

⁵Karl Vossler, Algunos caracteres de la cultura española (Buenos Aires: Espasa-Calpe, 1942), pp. 69-70.

⁶Ludwig Pfandl, Introducción al estudio del siglo de oro, trans. Félix García (Barcelona: Araluce, 1929), pp. 149-150.

Los santos varones eran venerados con humilde devoción por los reyes, los magnates y el pueblo. Se escuchaban sus consejos, se accedía a sus demandas, se les buscaba como intermediarios en las guerras. . . . Se recogían y honraban sobre toda ponderación los cuerpos de los mártires y varones piadosos que la devoción popular santificaba.¹

Commanding prominence was given to the personalities of the saints, first to Mary, next to Santiago, and then to the others. A substantial importance was attached to the Child Jesus, with the adult Saviour often relegated to an unobtrusive role. These attitudes very clearly had roots in the Middle Ages.²

Images of the Virgin Mary were meant to represent the Divine Mother. It is assumed that Christ had become too awesome a figure to serve as a personal idol; the saints were closer to the penitent or supplicant human being. Mary was early elevated to first place among those who intercede on behalf of mortals; she became the favorite of men and women who gave up tangible gods but still felt the need of praying to a visible deity.³ Many times it was neither Mary the mother of Jesus nor Mary the powerful saint to whom prayer was offered; it was rather the very present and local saint, Santa María de Salas, Santa María del Puerto, or Nuestra Señora de Atocha. In the minds of the common folk there were as many Marys as there were

¹Sánchez Albornoz, I, 325-327.

²Callcott, pp. 130-131. That many legends about the saints were widely known as early as the time of Alfonso X el Sabio is indicated by Las Cantigas de Santa María, which, according to Callcott, contain 353 miracles attributed to the Virgin alone, not including those ascribed to other saints.

³Cheney, p. 153.

shrines; all these images, however, had a connection with the mother of Christ in some mysterious way which the plain folk did not feel obliged to explain.¹

The extensive and historic cult of the Virgin Mary received new impetus in Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, through the interest there in the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. Long before Clement XI made it an official point of doctrine, the Immaculate Conception was insistently taught in Spain, and was manifested in such dramatic works as Lope de Vega's La limpieza no manchada and Calderón's Auto de las órdenes militares. Isabel de Bourbon displayed, especially in 1624, great devotion to the Virgin of Almudena in Madrid, and thus lent prestige to the cult of that saint.²

Sánchez Albornoz comments on the difficulty the modern man encounters as he tries to understand the fervent devotion to Mary of Spaniards of earlier times, and their audacious demands for her help.

"¡Ahí estás, somos tuyos, sácanos del aprieto, cuidado con lo que haces!" gritaban a la Virgen su patrona, sin sospecha de afrentamiento y de irreverencia. . . . Los peninsulares llegaron a considerar a sus patronos celestiales obligados a favorecerles con milagros, a su antojo. . . . Los hispanos hacían intervenir a María no sólo en graves y apuradas circunstancias sino para conseguir menudos y vulgares favores: para recuperar halcones perdidos . . . ; para favorecer la cría de gusanos de seda o evitar la pedrea de una viña . . . ; en los toros, en las construcciones, en las industrias, etc., etc. . . . Creían que la Virgen y los Santos a quienes habían tomado por patronos

¹Callcott, p. 83.

²Deleito y Piñuela, p. 22.

y a quienes servían como señores tenían el deber de protegerlos, y porque lo creían con fe viva, les enfrentaban o los afrontaban cuando llegaba el caso. Y así por los siglos de los siglos. . . .¹

That the views of the seventeenth-century Spaniard on saints in general and Mary in particular were not exaggerated in comparison with modern views can be seen from the following statements:

To the Catholic the saints are not mere exalted patterns of behavior, but living members, and even constructive powers of the Body of Christ. They possess, therefore, not merely a moral, but also a religious significance. . . . That which is valid of the saints in general, holds in the highest measure of the Queen of all saints, Mary the Mother of God. . . . Without her consent there had been no redemption, and therefore is she for us all the "Gate of Heaven." . . . The Catholic acknowledges in heaven not only a Father, but also a mother. Though by her human nature she is infinitely distant from the Father, yet her special graces have raised her to a wonderful nearness to God, and as mother of the Redeemer she reflects God's goodness and bounty with an inwardness and a truth that are possible to no other creature. When the Catholic speaks of his Heavenly Mother, his heart is full with all the strength of feeling that is contained in that word. . . .²

On a later page by the same author, we read, "The Catholic regards Mary's intercession as all-powerful with God, and Catholic Christianity is becoming more and more clearly conscious that as mother of the Redeemer and as aware of every pulsation of her Son's heart, Mary is the mother also of all His grace."³

¹Sánchez Albornoz, pp. 332-334.

²Karl Adam, *The Spirit of Catholicism*, trans. Dom Justin McCann (rev. ed.; New York: Macmillan, 1955), pp. 125-130. Mary is here called "the Queen of all angels and saints," "the Queen of prophets," "the Queen of martyrs," "the Queen of Evangelists," and "the Queen of Apostles."

³*Ibid.*, p. 137. Mira de Amescua's *El amparo de los hombres* teaches that Mary's clemency extends even to those who have renounced the Saviour.

Other favorite saints were also looked to as mediators. Principal among them was Santiago, special protector of Spaniards. Christians fought under his name for the defeat of the Moors; and pilgrims came from much of Europe to venerate his remains.

The history of Spain cannot be understood without a knowledge and understanding of the veneration paid to St. James the Apostle and of the pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela. That is to say, the history of Spain would have been entirely different without the belief that in that city reposes the body of one of Christ's disciples and companions, beheaded in Palestine and translated to Spain by miraculous means; thus he returned to the land formerly Christianized by him, according to a tradition about which there would be no point in arguing, a tradition which had existed since before the arrival of the Arabs. Faith in the physical presence of the Apostle gave spiritual support to those who fought against the Moors. . . . If Spain had not been submerged by Islam, the cult of Santiago of Galicia would not have prospered.¹

Santa Teresa ranked after Santiago. In a curious attribution of human emotions to the saints, the question arose as to whether Santiago would be offended by Teresa's elevation to the status of patroness of Spain.²

The next step down in the church hierarchy was the hermit, who, though he had not arrived at sainthood, was on the way toward it. He was perhaps the only figure connected with the church, other than the saints, who did not receive abuse from many writers of the time.

If there is one man who for the dramatist before Lope de Vega embodies the highest virtues and is free from worldly temptations, it is the man who decides to retire from the world and spends his days in solitude. It is paradoxical

¹Américo Castro, *The Structure of Spanish History*, trans. Edmund L. King (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), pp. 130-131.

²Deleito y Piñuela, p. 23.

that the person whose ties with the organized Church are much less strong than those of priests and monks should be presented as the one who most closely follows the precepts of religion.¹

The hermits were looked upon as wise, fatherly, learned, and kind, offering in their humble retreats a refuge where one might always find consolation and advice.²

Lay organizations.--As a logical result of the intense and growing cult of the saints, according to Pfandl, came the cofradías or hermandades and the disciplinantes.³ The cofradías were made up of lay members pledged to complete fulfillment of their religious duties, as well as assisting the clergy whenever possible. The disciplinantes, with their mortifications and penances, represent an adaptation among the laity of the disciplines practiced in religious retreats from the eleventh century; this group should not be confused with the flagellators found elsewhere in Europe. Both the cofradías and the disciplinantes were prominent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and are seen as typical and characteristic of religious life in Spain. The vast number of persons in these organizations suggests a general responsiveness to things religious on the part of the populace, and not just among the clergy.

¹Gabriel H. Lovett, "The Hermit in the Spanish Drama Before Lope de Vega," Modern Language Journal, XXXV (May, 1951), 340.

²Ibid., p. 355.

³Pfandl, Introducción al estudio del siglo de oro, pp. 147-148.

Customs and attitudes.--Popular responsiveness to the religious tone of life in seventeenth century Spain can also be deduced from the number of customs rigidly observed by thousands. Among these customs were the use of scapularies and medals, the keeping of blessed branches from Palm Sunday, and the blessing of horses and flocks on the day of San Antonio. Matters such as attendance at mass were, of course, taken for granted.

La vida religiosa ordinaria se reducía al cumplimiento fiel o a la observancia rígida de los mandamientos. Deberes ordinarios e inexcusables de todo cristiano español eran la asistencia a la Santa Misa, recepción de los Sacramentos, santificación de los días festivos y la práctica del ayuno todos los viernes del año. Un antiguo refrán rezaba: por oír misa y dar cebada nunca se perdió jornada.¹

Proverbs such as the one just cited reveal the thinking of a people. "Si Dios quiere" was frequently heard; and "Ha venido Dios a verme" surprises us with all that it could mean. Still another frequent expression was "Todo sea por Dios," reflecting resignation and trust.² Sánchez Albornoz observes that the frequency with which saints are mentioned in proverbs indicates the extent to which they were a part of daily thought.³ "Desnudar a un santo para vestir a otro" is the equivalent of robbing Peter to pay Paul; "se le fué el santo al cielo" means some one has forgotten something; and "quiere llegar y besar al santo" means some one wishes immediate blessings.

¹Ibid., p. 146.

²Rafael Altamira y Crevea, Los elementos de la civilización y del carácter españoles (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1950), pp. 235-236.

³Sánchez Albornoz, I, 374.

Some of these expressions, like "Fíate de la Virgen y no corras," are bold. At least two proverbs reveal that the popularity of the saints may rise or fall: "A santo que está de moda, acude la devoción toda." "Santo que ayer tuvo los devotos a millares, hoy no los tiene ni a pares."¹ Many show a sarcastic skepticism toward human qualities such as gratitude: "El río pasado, el santo olvidado." "Rogar al santo hasta pasar el tranco."² The pungent "Entre santa y santo, pared de cal y canto" reveals a certain distrust of the saints themselves.

Y el bajo pueblo no sólo ha blasfemado quizá como ningún otro pueblo cristiano del mundo, sino que ha asociado vocablos de directa significación religiosa, como el superlativo "santísima," con palabras y expresiones tan raheces que no me atrevo a reproducir aquí.³

These proverbial expressions indicate that saints and saintliness have, often with vigorous, uninhibited terms, entered into the common language, infiltrated into many aspects of Spanish life, and colored

¹P. Rodríguez Marín, 12,600 refranes más no contenidos en la colección del maestro Gonzalo Correas (Madrid: Tip. de la "Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos," 1930), p. 126. See also José María Sbarbi y Osuna, Gran Diccionario de refranes de la lengua española (Buenos Aires: J. Gil, 1943), pp. 893-896, for a rich compilation of proverbs about saints.

²Gonzalo Correas (d. 1631), Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales (Madrid: J. Ratés, 1906). On the sarcasm and skepticism of proverbs such as these, see Francis C. Hayes, "Sarcasm of 'don.' Juan del Pueblo," Hispania, XXXV, No. 1 (February, 1952), 31-36.

³Sánchez Albornoz, I, 374.

the Spaniards' outlook on numerous things from the smallest to the greatest.¹

A further glimpse into the thinking of Lope's contemporaries can be obtained from a consideration of the parable of the prodigal son, which has been said to show better than anything else the seventeenth-century Spaniard's concept of the Divine.² Related to this was the firm belief in the efficacy of a last-minute repentance. Sánchez Albornoz insists that every one was confident that he would have an opportunity to repent, and that sudden death, without time for reconciliation with the Creator, was considered a harsh punishment.³ No one would have thought, even in the most heated duel, of depriving another of the last sacraments.⁴ Among those who, on the stage, abandoned evil only at the last moment were Fray Cristóbal de Lugo in Cervantes' El rufián dichoso, Leonido in Lope de Vega's La fianza satisfecha, San Cipriano in Calderón's El mágico prodigioso, and San Gil in Mira de Amescua's El esclavo del demonio. One sin was, apparently, unforgivable; doubting God's grace, according to El condenado por desconfiado, attributed to Tirso de Molina, left the sinner without hope.

¹One might mention the oaths and expletives involving the saints; the place names (such as San Francisco, San Antonio, Santa Bárbara) which are many, even in this country; and the fiestas, such as the madness that strikes Pamplona annually when the bulls are run through the streets on July 7, the day of San Fermín (Pamplonans are called *sanfermines*).

²Pfandl, Historia de la literatura nacional, pp. 268-269.

³Sánchez Albornoz, I, 372: "Abundan las pruebas de tal fe." See also Reynier, pp. 855-863.

⁴Pfandl, Introducción al estudio del siglo de oro, p. 161.

Closely related to the increasing emphasis on the cult of Mary and the other saints was an unshakable faith in the miracles and legends which were part of popular thought everywhere. "Nada se consideraba imposible ni inverosímil."¹ This inexhaustible store of traditions, legends, and popular poetry supplied nourishment for two important genres of Spanish literary art: the drama and the ballads.²

The Inquisition.--The populace of Golden Age Spain was constantly aware that the piercing eye of the Inquisition might be watching. Originally known as the Consejo de la Inquisición, it was founded in 1478 by Ferdinand and Isabella to "inquire" into the purity of the faith of converted Moors and Jews.

The Inquisition is a knotty problem not easy to discuss dispassionately, and it leads us into a sea of literature. Therefore, investigations and commentaries notwithstanding, truth about the old leyenda negra is hard to find. We leave this problem to others.³

The aspect of the Inquisition which struck terror into the hearts of the populace, and which is still loudly lamented today, was torture. Torture, however, was not new to the Inquisition; from the Siete Partidas, promulgated in 1256, codifying Spanish law as brought down through the Visigothic code and the Fuero Juzgo from the Roman

¹Ibid., p. 154.

²Ibid.

³For a documented picture of a great Spanish exegete under persecution by the Inquisition, see Aubrey F. G. Bell, Luis de León; un estudio del renacimiento español, trans. Celso García (Barcelona: Araluce, 1927), chapter VII: "En las celdas de la Inquisición." For a paradoxical defense of the Inquisition, see Pfandl, Introducción al estudio del siglo de oro, chapter IV.

law which it still reflected, we gather that "torment is defined as a manner of punishment which lovers of justice use, to scrutinize by it the truth of crimes committed secretly, and not provable in any other manner."¹ The Church in 384 was opposed to torture, and condemned it in the synod at Rome. Centuries later, Innocent IV issued in 1252 a bull directing civil powers to torture heretics. Canon law did not forbid torture, but instructed the priest not to administer it with his own hands. Later, it was done by the Inquisition. Torquemada's² code (1484) provided for torture if enough evidence existed for serious presumption of guilt. Confessions under torture required confirmation, but retractions were likely to involve further torture. The presence at all examinations of one or two inquisitors was required. After certain abuses, Philip II in 1588 forbade torture without an order from the council, but the decree was not fully observed.³

Appeal was possible only in doubtful cases. Confessions were ratified within twenty-four hours; the prisoner, if sincerely repentant, could be reconciled, but otherwise could be delivered to the secular authorities to be burned.⁴ Theoretically, the Inquisition itself was secular, a civil and royal organization. But it was in fact

¹"Torture," Encyclopedia Britannica, 13th ed., XXII, 310. (The writer was referred to this article by a Catholic professor of Spanish.)

²Tomás de Torquemada (1420-1498), Spanish inquisitor who, according to Llorente, caused the death of 8,000 persons.--Nuevo pequeño Larousse ilustrado, 1961 ed., citing Juan Antonio Llorente (1756-1823), "sacerdote y secretario general del Santo Oficio."

³"Torture," p. 311.

⁴Ibid.

an instrument of the Church, since the Inquisitor General and the six principal secretaries were officers chosen only from the clergy.¹

The steps in the process were as follows: formal accusation was made, in secret; the witnesses were questioned, in secret; the individual was arrested and kept in prison for a week; he was then interrogated, still without being told the cause of arrest; the accusation was at last made so that the accused could prepare a defense and choose counsel--from the Inquisitorial Council. Sentence or absolution might follow this primary questioning, but if the prisoner denied the charge, interrogation was reopened, accompanied by torture.²

The Inquisition grew in power until in 1558 it ventured to censor books; translations of the Bible were discouraged, and buying, selling, or retaining forbidden books could be punished by death. The extreme vigilance of the Inquisition can be deduced from the cases of Juan de Avila, San Ignacio, Luis de Granada, Luis de León, Juan de los

¹Serrano Plaja, p. 95.

²Methods of torture included the hot brick, the water and cord, the pulley, and the tablillas, or thumbscrew and boot combined. When a man was found guilty, confiscation of property, the wearing of the degrading sambenito, and service in the galleys usually followed. The death sentence was carried out by burning the victim at the stake in the public spectacle known as the Auto de fe. Though it probably ended sooner, torture was not abolished by papal bull until 1816. --Serrano Plaja, pp. 96-98, and "Torture," pp. 311-312. It is not difficult to suspect that the Catholic authorities felt as secure in their belief in torture as the generals today who "justify" nuclear destruction with the catch-all, "military necessity."

Angeles, and even Santa Teresa.¹ As the Inquisition became even more powerful, it came to be "la Institución decisiva de la Contrarreforma, con poderes, de hecho, para intervenir en cualquier aspecto de la vida española."² The importance of the Inquisition as a unifying force for Catholic Spain can scarcely be overestimated.

The Counter-Reformation.--The Inquisition was, of course, the most vigilant force of the Counter-Reformation. It has been said that the Counter-Reformation was a Spanish accomplishment, developed by the Council of Trent and the Jesuits.³ As a movement, it was in full swing by the close of the Council of Trent in 1563. It should be borne in mind that "quizá el más grande ideal español desde los Reyes Católicos fué el mantenimiento de la fe católica,"⁴ and that

. . . the ecclesiastical councils of Aranda (1473) and Seville (1512) so reformed the morals, habits and learning of the clergy, that the Church in Spain presented a moral and intellectual standard which was probably unequalled elsewhere in Europe at the time. Those ecclesiastical abuses that were so acutely felt in many parts of Germany and England were far milder in Spain--a fact which helps account for the failure of the Protestant Reformation to secure much sympathy beyond the Pyrennees.⁵

¹Serrano Plaja, pp. 95-96. For details on the persecution of Luis de León, see Bell, Luis de León, chapter VII. There was an atmosphere of fear at the University of Salamanca, especially for professors of Biblical exegesis.

²Serrano Plaja, p. 95.

³Angel González Palencia, La España del siglo de oro, ed. Ralph J. Michels (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939), pp. 102-103. Davies (p. 288) says that ". . . the Council of Trent has often been described as a Spanish council; for its proceedings were dominated by the prelates and doctors of Spain."

⁴Ibid., p. 97.

⁵Davies, p. 10.

The Jesuit order has been called the spearhead of the Counter-Reformation, and their preaching, where the people were not accustomed to having their parish priests preach, "had an immense effect in the revival of religious zeal during the latter part of the sixteenth century."¹

Where a nation is so steeped in religion that it vigorously defends the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, holds poetic contests to commemorate canonizations, works while invoking the saint of the appropriate guild, builds churches and carves images in every hamlet, and applauds the deep theology of the autos sacramentales and such dramas as El condenado por desconfiado, there is a built-in guarantee against heresy.² Indeed, the confidence of the Spanish Catholic was at times so great as to be offensive to others: "El español del siglo de oro profesaba catolicismo por modo tan tremendo, que hasta en Roma chocaba, y que en Flandes se hizo odioso a los católicos y al clero."³

Heresy in Spain, then, was not really a problem; there were no more than some dozens of Lutherans,⁴ and any Lutheran tendencies were rigorously quelled by "la celosa vigilancia del pensamiento católico y de la disciplina eclesiástica."⁵ The Counter-Reformation, therefore, did not assume the proportions of a major struggle or

¹Ibid., p. 288.

²González Palencia, p. 103.

³Angel Salcedo Ruiz, La literatura española; resumen de historia crítica, 2nd ed. (Madrid: Calleja, 1916), II, 51.

⁴González Palencia, p. 103.

⁵Giusti, p. 187.

ever-present factor in life. Thus one is not surprised to find only infrequent and incidental mention of Protestantism in the comedias de santos.

Asceticism, mysticism, and magic.--The various religious elements of life and thought--the feast days; the belief in witches and demons, miracles and traditions, saints and hermits; the proverbs about certain saints and doctrines; the multitude of customs involving religious beliefs; the ever-present cofradías and hermandades, and especially the familiares of the Inquisition--focused into a kind of intellectual asceticism, which helps explain the frequency with which writers of the time dealt with such problems as sin, justification, grace, free will, and the relationship between this life and that to come.¹ One writer goes so far as to assert that matters of dogma such as creation, the fall of man, original sin, and the angels and saints were familiar to the Spanish from their youth.² It has been said that the fervor of the Spaniards converted asceticism into the archtype of the Christian life in general.³

Popular thought, of course, did not turn to asceticism with system, or even much attention. Since asceticism and mysticism, however, were definite parts of the national religious scene, we wish to make a brief examination of those two manifestations.

¹Pfandl, Historia de la literatura, p. 47.

²Deleito y Piñuela, p. 14.

³Sánchez-Albornoz, I, 244.

It has been said that the science of life in medieval times can be described as a desire to live as well as possible, but in such a way as not to fail in the final Judgment.¹ The ascetic outlook on life in Golden Age Spain, however, involved an interpretation of all earthly matters in terms of their worth on the scale of eternal values. A tireless asking of why and how and a contemplation of the end from the beginning have been observed as further characteristics of the Spanish ascetic.² Asceticism was born of the will, and the ascetic sought to do good because of the practical advantages expected; virtue became a means to an end rather than a goal in itself.³

Mysticism, on the other hand, leaned on the special gift known as grace.⁴ The mystic loved and contemplated but did not reflect. He did not try to work out his salvation; he sought rather his fusion, as a child of God, with Him to whom he gave himself entirely.⁵

At the end of the sixteenth century, the word místico meant "hidden," and referred to the quiet, secret way the soul sank itself into contemplation of God.⁶ This state was not considered a matter of trances or dreams, but the result of extreme piety, subjugation of the appetites and affections, profound knowledge of oneself, and a certain state of election. It was, in essence, a union with God in

¹Pfandl, Historia de la literatura, p. 49.

²Ibid.

³Lacalle, p. 150.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Pfandl, Historia de la literatura, p. 49.

⁶Ibid., p. 48. Pfandl leans on Juan de la Cruz for this assertion.

this life.¹ Such was the original meaning of the word, and few attained the state it implied. However:

In a wider sense, the word "mystic" may be applied to a people possessed of a deep religious sense, manifested in every expression of its life, literature and art. This is seen in the longing for eternity as an immediate reality, in small regard for worldly success and the purely mundane, and in an ardent desire to suffer and fight for the triumph of the ideals of Christ and His Church.²

The origins of mysticism are remote and obscure. Mystical expressions and experience developed throughout the Middle Ages, imparting a distinct character to a number of theological and devotional works. The struggle against the Moors was looked upon as a great mystical experience. "From these vague adumbrations the great age of mysticism took its starting point with curious suddenness at the beginning of the sixteenth century."³

While mysticism may have been present in the twelfth century with St. Bernard, in the fourteenth in Germany with Tauler, and in the fifteenth in France with Gerson, it was left for sixteenth-century Spain to offer the greatest and most original mystics.⁴ Among these were Santa Teresa, San Juan de la Cruz, and Fray Luis de León.

¹Ibid., p. 49. A modern writer summarizes these ideas of union and election as follows: "El misticismo de la Iglesia es fundamentalmente nupcial y está fundado en la relación de amor entre Cristo y la Iglesia, así como entre Cristo y cada alma elegida en particular."--Helmut Hatzfeld, Estudios literarios sobre mística española (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1955), p. 18.

²Rubio, p. 12.

³Davies, p. 10.

⁴Piétri, p. 131.

The year 1591 has been suggested as the peak of Spanish mysticism.¹ Since that was Lope de Vega's twenty-eighth year, it would be difficult to deny that he was influenced by the mystics. Reynier, after observing that it would be surprising in the land of the great mystics not to find this form of religious exaltation reflected in the sacred drama, claims that at least ten dramatists place on the stage ecstasies, visions like those of St. Teresa, or acts of penance like those of Sor María de Jesús Agreda. Mentioned by way of examples are Moreto's Santa Rosa del Perú, in which Rosa's language of love and devotion waxes so precise as to make the hearer uncomfortable; Tirso's Quien no cae no se levanta, with its double meanings in a pious person's relationship with her guardian angel; and Lope's San Diego de Alcalá, in which the saint's hatred of heresy and idolatry lead him, when arriving in the Canary Islands to convert the inhabitants, to hurl himself at the natives, threatening them with his crucifix, crying for the soldiers behind him to massacre the idolaters, and weeping as this holy work is executed.²

The decline of mysticism was hastened by two trends. At the end of the sixteenth century, Spanish mysticism "suffered a perversion in the form of alumbrismo and a degeneracy in the form of quietism."³ True mysticism had been based on submission to Christian moral standards and the authority and sacraments of the Church; but the alumbrados claimed a special revelation rendering them free

¹Davies, p. 293.

²Reynier, pp. 839-841.

³Davies, p. 293.

of all ecclesiastical guidance. Some of them even asserted that they had achieved moral perfection through union with the Divine, and that such a state set them free from moral laws and made their judgment infallible.

Small secret congregations of alumbrados . . . grew large and numerous upon the decadence of mysticism in the seventeenth century, till the whole land swarmed with imposters and lunatics, who gained great followings by the most fantastic announcements of divine guidances combined frequently with the most appalling moral depravity. . . .¹

Quietism was not to this extent a perversion. It was a degeneration of true mysticism. While the mystic had laid stress upon the importance of practical, hard work as a chief result of union with God, the quietist held that human perfection lay in the annihilation of all the faculties and all activities, so that the soul might be completely absorbed in the divine essence.²

Summary.--By way of summarizing the importance of the role of religion in the life of seventeenth-century Spain, the following citations are offered:

La cristiandad española perdió el gusto por la investigación del secreto del hombre y del mundo, para centrar su vida bajo la cúpula de la fe, y la sociedad se teocratizó, al consagrar íntegramente su contextura vital al servicio de una férvida apetencia del más allá ultraterreno.³

¹Ibid.

²Ibid. A writer who makes a penetrating study into mysticism and seeks to place it against its historical and theological background is Pedro Sainz y Rodríguez, "El problema histórico del misticismo español," Revista de Occidente, V, No. 45 (March, 1927), 324-346.

³Sánchez-Albornoz, I, 243.

François Piétri asserts, "En outre et surtout, le socle, si l'on peut dire, du Siècle d'or, est fait essentiellement de religion. . . ."¹ The artist of that period, whether dramatist, sculptor, or painter, seems to have had to submit to a kind of jealous monopoly exercised by religion,² which permeated life in seventeenth-century Spain.

The Theater and Lope de Vega

The Prevalence of Church and Theater

Another pervading influence on the people of Golden Age Spain was the drama--especially Lope de Vega's drama. Deleito y Piñuela, writing about Philip IV, asserted that the church and the theater were two great forces in the Spain of the poet-king,³ and, suggesting the joining of the two forces--a union perhaps seldom better manifested than in the comedia de santos--observed that there was "Íntimo consorcio y a veces pintoresco maridaje entre la iglesia y el teatro."⁴ Professional actors and actresses often performed in convents and monasteries, and these places afforded all the customary theatrical devices and refinements.⁵

The Spanish drama, like the Spanish religion, represents a continuation of the traditions of the Middle Ages.

¹Piétri, p. 12.

²Ibid., p. 26.

³Deleito y Piñuela, "La vida madrileña en tiempo de Felipe IV," Revista de la Biblioteca Archivo y Museo, XII, No. 48 (October, 1935), 387.

⁴Ibid., p. 373.

⁵Ibid., pp. 376-378.

El teatro español es, en el Siglo de Oro, como una condensación de todo el espíritu tradicional español de los siglos anteriores; es decir, de toda la Edad Media, resumido y cuajado en él.¹

Manuel Cañete has pointed out that Spanish dramatists, unlike those of other countries, leaned chiefly on books approved by the Catholic Church.² All plays had to carry the Nihil obstat of the Church before representation.

The Spanish theater, like the Spanish church, welcomed the rank and file of the population. Deleito y Piñuela considered the theater the only secular institution where the ordinary people were easily received, where the pueblo soberano could really exercise its sovereignty.³

And this sovereignty was not entirely figurative. Soon after the death of Lope de Rueda in 1565,

. . . the country was overrun with strolling companies. . . . The feverish desire for dramatic entertainments spread all over the land. . . . The court and the populace showed the same irrepressible enthusiasm; but the verdict of the populace decided the future of a piece.⁴

It was a matter, says Barja, of a drama which was popular in the fullest sense of the word; to the public could be attributed the

¹Pemán, p. 15.

²Cañete, Teatro español del siglo XVI, pp. 151-153.

³Deleito y Piñuela, Revista de la Biblioteca, Archivo y Museo del Ayuntamiento de Madrid, IX, No. 36 (October, 1932), 408.

⁴Fitzmaurice-Kelly, p. 254.

sort of plays performed.¹ And that Lope de Vega admittedly catered to the popular demand is well known.

The Theater as a Depiction of Society

Given the above-mentioned popular contribution to the direction of the Spanish drama of the Golden Age, we can agree with Julio Milego that literature in general, and especially the drama--its greatest development--is the mirror in which is reflected the culture of a people.² The theater becomes a key to national life, a measure of the society which has created it. Ugo Gallo puts it this way: "Il teatro sempre ha costituito il banco di prova più evidente della vita intima di una nazione e di un popolo. . . ."³ Flores García asserts that the theater is not merely an indication, but the most exact and faithful reflection of the customs of a people.⁴ "El teatro español del siglo XVI y del XVII es un exponente pasmoso de los ideales españoles."⁵

. . . Habrá que recalcar un hecho innegable: la comedia española del siglo XVII se basó en la vida, que era todo eso que es miseria y opulencia, verdad y mentira, alegría y tristeza, tragedia y comedia, existencia y muerte, y de la

¹César Barja, Libros y autores clásicos (Brattleboro: Vermont Printing Co., 1928), pp. 410-411.

²Milego, pp. 7-8.

³Ugo Gallo, Storia della letteratura spagnola (Milano: Casa Editrice "Accademia," 1952), p. 219.

⁴Francisco Flores García, La corte del rey-poeta (Recuerdos del Siglo de Oro) (Madrid: Ruiz Hermanos, 1916), p. 30.

⁵F. C. Sainz de Robles, Lope de Vega: Retrato, horóscopo, vida y transfiguración (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1962), p. 313.

savia de la vida, de esa su vida, se construía lo bello y lo feo del cotidiano existir dándoles formas y estructuras que correspondían íntimamente con su sentido cósmico de la vida y que representaban ese gran misterio que es la vida, la vida de cada uno, la vida de todos, la vida de todos en cada uno de todos.¹

In view of the affinity between the people and their drama, it is not surprising that there should have been a deafening outcry when the players' wagons came to town.² The faithful turned out in great numbers to enjoy the performances under the sky, between richly decorated balconies in the public square.³

We have seen the continuation of things medieval in Spanish religion and in Spanish drama; now we go a step further to suggest that there was something of the medieval in the audience, as well.

. . . El público español, más que el de otros países, seguía presenciando el drama con cierto sentido medieval, como representación alegórica de la vida humana, en la que todo detalle resulta significativo y contribuye algo a la comprensión del conjunto.⁴

Those accustomed to the two prominent aspects of national life-- religion and the drama--could easily see the implicit association between unconnected action, the reality suggested by the imaginary, and the intent of the author's allusions. And the dramatist expected just such a participation from his audience; indeed, the spectator

¹P. Sánchez Escribano, "Cuatro contribuciones españolas a la preceptiva dramática mundial," Bulletin of the Comediantes, XIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1961), 2.

²Milego, pp. 78, 79. His words: "griterío ensordecedor."

³Cañete, Teatro español del siglo XVI, p. 134.

⁴Marín, p. 176.

entered into the action, weeping, kneeling, and even venerating the actors who portrayed saints.¹ It was not surprising for persons of merely superficial religious convictions to leave a comedia devota and join a monastic organization. On other occasions, actors portraying divine personages would continue the same virtuous customs after the performance, or would leave their profession for the garb of the church.² Such responses make it quite possible to agree with Stephen Gilman that "in the comedia, the audience found not only ideological comfort but also communion, vital participation in a spiritual community."³

It should be understood that this fondness for, and identification with, dramatic performances was not restricted to the lower classes. The king himself was inordinately attracted to the theater. Philip IV, who took the throne in 1621, fourteen years before the death of Lope de Vega, enjoyed comedias twice a week at whichever palace he was in. Court etiquette did not permit him to attend the public theaters, "but in fact, he was a constant visitor to both the

¹Ibid., pp. 176-177. The participation of the audience has lasted until our own century, according to John Hay, who reports in Castilian Days (New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 1903), p. 288, that at a performance he attended of the miracle play, Los siete dolores de María, the majority of the audience "looked upon the scene as a real and living fact." A man cursed the cruel guards, and a girl in a nearby box fainted when the unresisting Saviour was struck by a Roman soldier.

²Reynier, p. 869.

³Stephen Gilman, "The Comedia in the Light of Recent Criticism Including the New Criticism," Bulletin of the Comediantes, XII, No. 1 (Spring, 1960), 3-4.

public theaters, going, of course, incognito, and often masked, as was the fashion of the time."¹

Comedias were written on any pretext. Many were designed for performance on annual or special occasions, especially religious festivals. Comedias de santos were often written for beatifications, canonizations, or the moving of a statue from one shrine to another.

La simple traslación de una imagen de un templo a otro, producía fiestas públicas solemnes, en las que se mezclaba lo sagrado a lo profano, y donde rara vez faltaban las comedias, por la estrecha unión en que andaba siempre la iglesia con el teatro, pese a todas las prohibiciones canónicas.²

The idea of the bond between the church and the drama is inescapably recurrent. Bergamín understandably wrote, "El teatro es la conciencia moral de un pueblo. . . ."³

Lope de Vega as Representative of Golden Age Spain

We have endeavored to show how the theater of Golden Age Spain represented the popular taste, portrayed the society of the day, achieved audience identification, and met with popular acclaim. A few citations should suffice to indicate that the plays of Lope de Vega not only did all these things, but did them in the most complete and representative way.

¹Martin Hume, The Court of Philip IV (New York: Brentano's Publishers, n. d.), pp. 148-149.

²Deleito y Piñuela, Revista de la Biblioteca, Archivo y Museo del Ayuntamiento de Madrid, III, No. 11, 331.

³José Bergamín, Mangas y capirotos (Madrid: Editorial Plutarco, 1933), p. 29.

As to whether Lope's drama reflected the tastes of his audience, we lean on Sainz de Robles, who repeatedly insists that Lope represents the heart of Spain. Spain and Lope, he affirms,

se amaron, se confundieron y se fundieron. Pensaron lo mismo. Creyeron lo mismo. Exaltaron lo mismo. Amaron lo mismo. Gustaron lo mismo. Soñaron lo mismo. Se afanaron por lo mismo. ¡Tan iguales . . . , tan iguales!¹

Another writer asserts that not only do the works of Lope reflect popular tastes, but the people, through his catering to their tastes, may be said to have actually collaborated with Lope in their creation:

Su genial instinto artístico le hizo ver muy pronto lo que valía la colaboración del pueblo en las obras de arte, y que el pueblo difícilmente deja morir aquello en que él pone algo suyo.²

Supo lo que quería el público. Escuchó los comentarios. Mejor dicho adivinó.³

It has been asserted that in Lope's drama are found the sentiments and ideas of which the national spirit of Spain was composed: valor, honor, religion, and democracy.⁴ Even Menéndez y Pelayo wrote without

¹Sainz de Robles, p. 311.

²José Rubinos, Lope de Vega como poeta religioso (La Habana: Cultural, 1935), p. 25.

³Alvaro Arauz, Notas sobre Lope de Vega y Calderón (México, D. F.: Ediciones Atlántico, 1951), p. 30.

⁴Gregorio Palacín Iglesias, Historia de la literatura española, 2ª edición corregida y aumentada (México: Impresa Azteca, 1958), p. 264.

Seventeenth-century Spanish "democracy" meant a high sense of individual worth and dignity, a lack of snobbishness, a feeling of brotherhood and unity brought about by centuries of struggle against non-Christians, and a comparatively weak aristocratic influence upon art and thought.

restraint of "Lope, cuyo teatro era espejo fiel de cuanto creía y pensaba su siglo. . . ."1

As to whether Lope's plays reflect the society of his day, we have R. F. Giusti's declaration that they do--that they portray "la entera sociedad de aquel siglo."² Of no one, asserts Vigil,³ can it better be said that he is the incarnation of his period, that he had a profound knowledge and perfect understanding of the society in which he lived.

Si queremos saber el contenido de las horas, el fluir de la vida obscura y subyacente, la emoción humilde de la casa y la calle, el drama o la comedia de cada día, que dicen más del carácter de un pueblo que las hazañas pregonadas de la historia, tenemos que ir a la literatura, y de la literatura preferentemente al teatro. Y del teatro, a aquellos autores que sintieron más íntimamente el temblor de la vida diaria. Tenemos que ir, en suma, a Lope. . . .⁴

Another writer also mentions the prominence of daily life in the works of Lope:

El teatro de Lope de Vega refleja cumplidamente la vida en esa España en que le tocó vivir. La vida cotidiana surge en los versos de Lope animadamente, llena de sus ecos más firmes: el amor, el sentimiento del honor, la fidelidad a la monarquía, la vida religiosa. . . . La vida entera desfila por la pluma de Lope. . . . En Lope está todo, desde la vida del hampa hasta la de la Universidad y la nobleza. . . . Todo está encerrado en este Lope excepcional e incomparable, representante excelso

¹La conciencia española, recopilación de Antonio Tovar (Madrid: Ediciones y Publicaciones Españolas, 1948), p. 287.

²Giusti, p. 399.

³José María Vigil, Lope de Vega: Impresiones literarias (México: Imprenta de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1935), pp. 23, 26.

⁴Francisco Ichaso, Lope de Vega, poeta de la vida cotidiana (La Habana: Cultural, 1935), pp. 15-16.

de las flaquezas y virtudes de su pueblo. . . . Le cupo a Lope ser el representante adecuado de la colectividad a que pertenecía. . . . Hincada firmemente en la ortodoxia católica y en la fidelidad al Rey, Lope asimila el latido de su pueblo y lo muda en criatura de arte, dándole un ademán de extraordinaria belleza, pero sin puntos de vista nuevos o complicados, sino fiel siempre a la multitud en que se encuentra y apoya. Lope es el poeta más popular de toda la literatura española.¹

As to whether Lope's plays involved a participating audience, we turn again to Giusti, who declares that Lope's dramatic presentations were popular, a public diversion in which all could identify themselves.²

Lope's ironies, tensions, and ambiguities function in oral relation to a participating audience, and in his greatest plays this means not just the denizens of the corral but all Spain and every Spaniard.³

And now as to whether Lope's creations received acclaim, we point out that every one from the king to beggars and gypsies knew his name; that the atmosphere of the day was full of Lope; that even his contemporaries praised him exorbitantly; that "la fama de Lope, filtrada hasta las clases más bajas de la sociedad, aparece atestiguada como la de ningún otro poeta en los libros de la época."⁴

¹Zamora Vicente, pp. 19-21. Not every one agrees, of course. In The Dramatic Art of Lope de Vega (p. 17), Rudolph Schevill argues that Lope's comedias are not the mirror of society many writers take them to be. For one thing, with rare exceptions they lack mothers. For another, the disguises, especially of young ladies masquerading as men, are not found in the matter-of-fact literature of the day. Yet this same writer in "Lope de Vega and the Golden Age," Hispanic Review, III, No. 3 (July, 1935), 181, points out that it is "hard to draw a sharp distinction between Lope's personal thought processes and those of the people as a whole with whom he identified himself in his inner and outer world."

²Giusti, p. 399.

³Gilman, p. 4.

⁴Miguel Herrero-García, Estimaciones literarias del siglo XVII (Madrid: Editorial Voluntad, 1930), pp. 130-132.

At the risk of belaboring the point,¹ we cite still others on Lope de Vega's synthesis of his environment. According to Barbara Matulka, he "epitomizes the very essence of his race, his national traditions, and his epoch."² Amado Alonso³ has written that Lope's life was identified with that of his people, and his works express that identification. "En las poesías de Lope, y especialmente en su teatro, se recogen, se reflejan y se refractan todos los rayos de la cultura viva de su pueblo."³ Pedro Henríquez Ureña declares that all of Spain can be found in Lope,⁴ and that this is true

porque ve poéticamente a toda España, desde las minucias de su vida diaria hasta sus sueños reconditos. . . . Lope es poeta a quien habrán de acudir siempre cuantos quieran sentir viva y cordial la ingenua llama en que arde el espíritu de los pueblos hispánicos.⁵

Mérimée and Morley, commenting on the oft-mentioned contrasts of the Spanish land and people, point out the conflict within Lope between the penitent who scourged himself until his walls were flecked with blood and the don Juan whose conquests make a list almost as long as that of his plays.

¹"The Tercentenary of Lope de Vega (1562-1635): His International Diffusion," The Spanish Review, II, No. 2 (November, 1935), 93.

²"Lope de Vega y sus fuentes," Thesaurus (Boletín del Instituto Caro y Cuervo), VIII, Nos. 1-3 (January-December, 1952), 3.

³Ibid., p. 6.

⁴Plenitud de España, 2^a edición aumentada (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1945), p. 23.

⁵Ibid., p. 41.

In this double aspect, Lope is the perfect type of his period, chivalric and mystical at the same time, gallant and pious, passionate and fickle. He experienced in turn, or even simultaneously, all the emotions known to men of his day; he lived many lives, and for that reason, doubtless, he was able to depict more completely than others the eternal human tragi-comedy.¹

Marcos Morínigo summarizes very well indeed the points we wish to make here. He declares that in order to know the ideas, aspirations, and concerns of a people, one must turn to those forms of literature which are most genuinely national and popular, and that the principal genre meeting these requirements at the beginning of the seventeenth century in Spain is the theater. Whereas in earlier times people had gathered to hear chivalric novels read, at this time they came to the towns and villages to see the performance of comedias. Sought out by every community, the carts of the players were on every road; and performances were so frequent that the actors sometimes had to travel in costume.²

This enthusiasm of the public lends credence to accepting the theater as a portrayer and interpreter of seventeenth-century Spanish life. And Lope's theater in particular depicted the beliefs, concerns, and ideals of the society of the time, because his works surpassed those of his contemporaries in variety of themes, number of dramatic procedures, freshness of imagination, and spontaneous lyricism.

¹Ernest Mérimée, A History of Spanish Literature, trans., rev., & enlarged by S. Griswold Morley (New York: Holt & Co., 1930), p. 337.

²Marcos A. Morínigo, América en el teatro de Lope de Vega (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Filología, 1946), p. 25.

"Nada hay en el teatro de los contemporáneos de Lope que no haya en el suyo. . . ."¹

Multitudes witnessed the performance of Lope's comedias.

Lope was, according to Morínigo,

el mejor intérprete de las oscuras voces que partían de las entrañas de la vida colectiva, y en su obra se refleja mejor y más cumplidamente que en otra alguna la visión del mundo de la multitud, constituida por todas las clases sociales, que asistían rumorosa a las comedias en todo el ámbito de España.²

And the people's attitudes toward religion are to be found in the comedias de santos in particular, according to Arco y Garay,³ who sees in the saints' plays a faithful interpretation of simple, popular faith.

En las comedias de santos, donde hablan indoctos héroes de la Fe, pobres del espíritu--el Catolicismo vulgar español--, Lope nos hace oír el auténtico lenguaje de su piedad en tono espontáneo y hasta cierto punto rudo, como reflejo del que hablaba el pueblo.⁴

Lope de Vega as Representative of His Religion

Because of the obvious relationship of religion to the present study, Lope's qualifications as a spokesman for his faith merit attention.

Sainz de Robles has commented on the orthodoxy of Lope's religion.

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 26. See also the preface.

³La sociedad española en las obras dramáticas de Lope de Vega, p. 75. This is a principal work dealing with Lope's portrayal of his age.

⁴Ibid.

Otro rasgo de Lope: la religiosidad. Pero la religiosidad católica, apostólica y romana. En este rasgo, tan cordial y tan medular, Lope es plenipotenciario de España. Lo herético, lo extraeclesiástico, no interesa ni a una ni a otro; ambos le vuelven la espalda.¹

. . . Ni para Lope ni para España existían mejores soluciones de vivir y de pervivir que el sentimiento religioso ortodoxo.²

Without necessarily sharing his ardor, we take note of José Bergamín's suggestion that Lope loves all things fervently, as if desirous of translating this love into love toward God, thus loving Him with all the heart and mind and soul. To say that Lope is Catholic seems to Bergamín an understatement; this human--too human--and, at the same time, almost supernatural being is "el catolicismo en persona," the "poeta hermético de la fe católica."³ Del Río agrees, apparently, that Lope popularizes and dramatizes the Catholic faith of the Spanish people of the seventeenth century, with all their anxiety about eternity and their determination to believe firmly and die acceptably.⁴ Valbuena concludes that Lope can be considered an official spokesman for Catholicism:

. . . Lope, lleno de sentimiento y no ayuno de teología, se constituye en muchas ocasiones en lo que pudiéramos llamar el cantor del catolicismo oficial español.⁵

¹F. C. Sainz de Robles, El teatro español: historia y antología (Madrid: Aguilar, 1942), II, 35. See also Lope de Vega: Retrato, p. 317.

²Sainz de Robles, Lope de Vega: Retrato, p. 317.

³José Bergamín, "Lope, siguiendo el dictamen del aire que lo dibuja," Cruz y Raya, Nos. 23 & 24 (February-March, 1935), pp. 22, 27.

⁴Angel del Río, "Lope de Vega y el espíritu contemporáneo," Revista Hispánica Moderna, II, No. 1 (October, 1935), 7.

⁵Angel Valbuena Prat, Antología de poesía sacra, pp. 23-24.

An older opinion makes specific reference to Lope's comedias devotas as representative of the religious ideas of their day:

Lope de Vega's spiritual comedies afford a picture of the religious notions of the Spaniards in the age in which he lived, not less faithfully portrayed than that by which his dramas of intrigue represent the manners of Spanish society.¹

In a statement even more pertinent to the present study, Sainz de Robles declares that Lope's comedias de santos are overflowing with elements both Spanish and dogmatic.²

It is perennially objected that Lope's personal life deviated so frequently and so widely from the path of acceptable morality that his capacity as a representative of the religion of his day is seriously impaired. This problem is so large that it must be left to others. We merely observe that Father Félix García has endeavored to reach middle ground by asserting that Lope was neither a saint nor a cynic; that while Lope the sinner tasted all the forbidden fruit, Lope the ascetic suffered for all his waywardness; that "tan grande como sus pecados fué su contrición."³ Thus, while we cannot excuse his excesses, there is no reason to doubt his deep convictions.⁴

In view, then, of Lope's vast dramatic output, the wide scope of his situations, the depth and orthodoxy of his religious

¹Frederick Bouterwek, History of Spanish Literature, trans. Thomasina Ross (London: Boosey and Sons, 1824), p. 384.

²Sainz de Robles, Lope de Vega: Retrato, p. 317.

³Félix García, "La sinceridad religiosa de Lope de Vega," Religión y cultura, XXXII, No. 97 (January, 1936), 44, 48.

⁴Ibid., p. 55.

backgrounds and the farflung extent of his popularity,¹ we conclude with some confidence that he is a fair representative of Golden Age Spain in general and of the comedia de santos in particular. He has been called the creator of the national drama,² and his comedias de santos have been said to have provided the model for all such works in the seventeenth century.³ The religious nature of these plays created strong bonds of sympathy between the playwright and the spectator; audiences were fully prepared to see dogma represented on the stage, because they accepted Lope's creed not as a theory but as a reality ever-present in their own lives.⁴

¹On this last point, attention is called to the proverbial "Es de Lope" and to the parody heard from all classes of the society of his day, "Creo en Lope de Vega todopoderoso, poeta del cielo y de la tierra. . . ."

²Valbuena, Historia de la literatura española, II, 210.

³Ibid., p. 239.

⁴Silva, p. 143.

CHAPTER IV

SAINTS AND SAINTHOOD

Saints in the Beginning

In seeking an answer to the question "What is a saint?" one naturally turns to the word "saint" in the Bible.

In the Authorized Version (1611), the Hebrew plural hasidim is translated as "saints" in I Samuel 2:9, II Chronicles 6:41, sixteen verses in the Psalms, and Proverbs 2:8,¹ which reads, "He keepeth the paths of judgment, and preserveth the way of his saints." Hasidim means "kind, godly or pious persons."² The word qadosh is rendered "saints" in nine places in the Authorized Version, while the Revised Version (1884) gives "holy ones" for five of these (Psalm 89:5,7; Job 5:1 and 15:5; Zechariah 14:15). In Daniel 7, both versions use "saints" to apply to the people loyal to God. "The root significance of qadosh and its Aramaic equivalent is that which is separate, and thus in a religious sense the word implied that which, being associated with a deity, was cut off from all profane contact or use."³ The idea of separation from the profane is found in a number of Bible texts: "Now therefore, if ye will

¹ Alan Richardson, A Theological Word Book of the Bible (New York: Macmillan, 1955), p. 215.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid. (Italics his.)

obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people" (Exodus 19:5), and Paul wrote to Titus about "a peculiar people, zealous of good works."¹

In the New Testament, hagios is used most frequently to mean "holy." However, hosios is used four times and hieros twice. Hagios, like qadosh, indicated that which is consecrated to the deity. Hagios is applied to the prophets (Luke 1:70), John the Baptist (Mark 6:20), pre-Christians (Matthew 27:52), angels (Mark 8:38), Christ (Acts 4:27,30), and God (John 17:11), "The members of the Christian community in Jerusalem are 'the saints at Jerusalem' (Acts 9:13. . .)." ² Also "saints" to Paul, the great early Christian writer, were the congregations at Rome (Romans 1:7), Corinth (I Corinthians 1:2 and II Corinthians 1:1), Philippi (Philippians 1:1 and 4:21-22), and Colosse (Colossians 1:2). "Evidently for Paul the saints are all the faithful, and those newly converted people who made up the first Christian communities. . . ." ³ "'The saints' in Paul's epistles were the spiritually elect, the objects of divine saving grace, who were identified with the body of the faithful." ⁴

¹Titus 2:14. See also Deut. 7:6, 14:2; Ps. 135:4; I Peter 2:9.

²Richardson, p. 215.

³Jacques Marie Joseph Douillet, What Is a Saint?, trans. Donald Attwater, Vol. 46 of The Twentieth Century Encyclopedia of Catholicism, ed. Henri-Daniel Rops (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1958),

⁴John M. Mecklin, The Passing of the Saint (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), p. 8.

¿Quiénes son esos santos? Por lo visto, los cristianos, simplemente: aquéllos que han recibido la Buena Noticia, que han aceptado la fe y que han renacido a nueva vida por el Bautismo.¹

Veneration of the Saints

Guardini, realizing that it might be objected that "saint" today makes us think of the great figures of Christianity, suggests that in apostolic times to become a Christian and to live like one were in themselves extraordinary, often with serious consequences.²

Pero luego se cambian las cosas. Los cristianos se hacen más numerosos, y cuando aumenta el número, por lo regular disminuyen la seriedad y el valor.³

It was soon felt that those who were Christians heroically rather than nominally were the ones who deserved to be called "saints."⁴ The heroes of early Christianity were the martyrs. A Catholic writer⁵ asserts:

The veneration of saints in the Christian Church began with the honor paid to her martyrs.

It cannot be questioned that the earliest Christians had a religious reverence for the Apostles and for the Virgin Mary. And it is probable that, when those who had lived in intimacy with their divine Master and had handed on the faith to them were dead, the faithful addressed prayers to them privately.

¹Romano Guardini, El santo en nuestro mundo, trans. José María Valverde (Madrid: Ediciones Guadarrama, 1960), p. 14.

²Ibid., pp. 14-15.

³Ibid., p. 15.

⁴Ibid., p. 16. Guardini here suggests that this was especially true later when, under Constantine, Christianity became the state religion and was probably superficial in the lives of many.

⁵Douillet, pp. 73-74.

In the second century, a public cultus of saints appeared. In the year 155 an aged man named Polycarp, a disciple of the apostle John and a leader of the church at Smyrna, was burned in the stadium by order of the Roman proconsul. A document of the day shows that the Christians were aware of the danger of worshipping the martyrs more than their Saviour, but that nevertheless they did not hesitate to "love the martyrs as followers and imitators of the Lord," and to consider St. Polycarp's bones "more precious than precious stones and finer than gold."¹

The example of those who were willing to die in torment rather than deny their Lord was impressive, and not without a scriptural basis.² The veneration of their remains, however, is admitted even by Catholic scholars to have had roots in the pagan traditions of the influence of the dead upon the living, the hovering of spirits around tombs, and the anniversary rites held at the graves.³

¹Douillet, p. 74.

²"Yea, and all that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution" (II Tim. 3:12). "Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as though some strange thing happened to you: but rejoice, inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings. . . ." (I Peter 4:12-13).

³Douillet, pp. 76-77. See also Mecklin, pp. 20-21. Hippolyte Delehaye, The Legends of the Saints, trans. Donald Attwater (New York: Fordham University Press, 1962), p. 131, agrees: "If we are told that the ideas disseminated by hero-worship disposed people's minds more readily to accept the role of the saints in Christianity, as intercessors before the throne of God, I do not see any reason for disputing the statement. The undoubtedly rapid spread of the cultus of martyrs and saints may well be explained by the fact that people were already prepared for it." Thomas F. Hout, in The Sociology of Religion (New York: Dryden

But whereas the heathen every year celebrated the anniversary of birth, Christians celebrated that of burial, the depositio. Polycarp's disciples give as the reason for this choice of date that the martyr's death is his birthday into the life of blessedness.¹

The anniversaries were recorded in the calendars of the churches, along with the place the faithful had to meet for their observance. At Rome, the calendar was called the Depositio martyrum. This document proves that by the fourth century churches were adding to their calendars the anniversaries of martyrs venerated in other churches. "It was at this time, too, that the names of the Apostles and St. Stephen began to be inserted among those of more recent martyrs; and very soon after, at the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century, a feast of our Lady appeared in some churches, under the name of Commemoration of the holy Mary."²

It was also in the fourth century that miracles were said to increase.

Martyrs and saints cured the sick, raised the dead, protected the land from invasion, drove off demons. Men in trouble should seek their help and venerate their relics. So Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianze, Chrysostom, and Jerome taught. Maximus of Turin (c. 442) illustrates the growing cult: "The martyrs assist us by their prayers and by their passion. With them we have a familiarity, for they are always

Press, 1958), p. 51, attributes the "culture-borrowing" of Christianity from paganism to the polytheism of the Romans and their belief that the world was full of spirits (numina), each with some special influence. "Christian saints with special interests took the place of this popular polytheism, with the saints acting as intermediaries between man and God. . . ."

¹Douillet, pp. 76-77.

²Ibid., p. 78.

with us--that is, they guard us while living and receive us at death." There were few who doubted that they knew what happened on earth. They were even ubiquitous, as St. Jerome held. "They are with Christ, following the Lamb wherever He goeth. If He is everywhere, therefore they must be also."¹

As the cult grew, churches were raised over the remains of martyrs. New centers were established by the custom of dismembering the bodies and distributing them. It was believed that the smallest relic was as powerful as the whole body would have been. Many and varied gifts were presented to the saints in gratitude; and when a promised gift was withheld, punishment was expected.²

Many who had confessed Christ at the peril of their lives were not put to death, but sentenced to hard labor or imprisonment. Some were freed. Such survivors were not martyrs but confessors, and they ranked high in their churches. St. Cyprian directed that their anniversary dates should be carefully recorded and observed. Cyprian held that in God's eyes a desire for martyrdom is equivalent to martyrdom.³

As persecution lessened, the ascetics began to succeed the martyrs as heroes of the faith. St. Jerome and St. Chrysostom affirmed that the Christian life is a kind of martyrdom, "if it be lived lovingly and all its renunciations taken as a permanent self-offering."⁴ Formerly directed to those who were tortured or slain, the admiration of the faithful turned to those who lived in constant austerity, and asceticism rose high in the scale of human values.

¹Macculloch, p. 121.

²Ibid., pp. 121-122.

³Douillet, p. 80.

⁴Ibid., p. 81.

Penitential "athletes" were buried as solemnly as martyrs, and their names, as confessors, were entered with those of the martyrs in the martyrologies. It is known that St. Anthony died in 356, and that before 372 his feast was being kept.¹ Miracles were wrought as freely by the relics of the ascetics as by those of the martyrs.²

Soon the names of bishops were added to the martyrologies: men known for their influence and writings, such as St. Ambrose of Milan, or for their austere lives and apostolic works, such as St. Martin of Tours. Their cults spread far beyond the limits of their own churches.³

Before the end of the fifth century, the words sanctus and sancti, though earlier used vaguely and in different senses, had come to be confined to those to whom a cult was reserved.

Early Hagiography

With the cults grew the literature. The "Acts" of martyrs, compiled from reports of the trials and eyewitness accounts, were read on their anniversaries. Books telling of the miracles wrought by relics were also read, as early as the fourth century. And in that same century, the life of St. Anthony began the tradition of recording the deeds of the ascetics. An early example in the West was the Vita S. Martini, by Sulpicius Severus (c. 400). One of the first collections of holy lives was The Paradise, or Histories of the Holy Men, by Palladius (420). As the cults grew, the taste for

¹Ibid.

²Macculloch, p. 125.

³Douillet, pp. 81-82.

this literature increased.¹ Often, the fame of a saint would bring to an abbey an unforeseen prosperity; and new parchments would be set aside for a voluminous life. But the few details recorded in the calendar, and the dim memories of those, if any still lived, who remembered him, did not supply enough material. So there were added "some abstract saintly pictures--such commonplaces and miracles as might reasonably be attributed to any saint. . . . This method tended to substitute the universal for the particular, to replace the authentic portrait by an idealized one."²

In fifth-century Rome a list was prepared of the saints of Italy, Africa, and the East. This list, because of its association with St. Jerome, is called the Hieronymian Martyrology. It was copied, added to, and "corrected" many times, but is the kernel of the Roman Martyrology.³

In the last half of the sixth century, St. Gregory of Tours contributed substantially to the saints' biographies. He wrote a series of collections.⁴

In the eighth century St. Bede the Venerable, a careful scholar, added to the Hieronymian Martyrology such biographical details as he could find, thus originating the brief notes ordinarily accompanying entries in the Roman Martyrology. In the

¹Ibid., pp. 139-131.

²Charles W. Jones, Saints' Lives and Chronicles in Early England (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1947), p. 59.

³Douillet, p. 93.

⁴Macculloch, p. 131.

ninth century, Florus and Ado, both of Lyons, sought to fill the days left blank by Bede. Ado "did not scruple to invent when he had no documents to use. . . ." ¹

At the end of the ninth century, Usuard, a monk of the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, was commissioned by Charles the Bald to compile an official calendar which would "restore a degree of concord to the solemnities of the saints." Leaning on the above-mentioned predecessors, he prepared the Martyrology of Usuard, which was the most popular for the rest of the Middle Ages. ²

In the medieval period, when the saints were so important in the lives and beliefs of men, the popularity of this literature was at its highest, as may be seen from the many editions of such collections as the Vitae Patrum, of Rosweyd, and the Legenda Aurea, of Jacobus de Voragine. That the lives were full of fictitious incidents mattered little, and, indeed, increased their vogue. They were the sacred fiction of the time, and were to the religious life of the age . . . what the romances and chansons de geste were to secular life. ³

The wide popularity of the Legenda Aurea has been described, along with Spanish works about the saints' lives. ⁴ Douillet calls the Legenda Aurea the masterpiece of an abundant "literary genre, which required that everything about a saint should be idealized and decked in marvels." ⁵

For an official edition of the martyrology, Cesare Baronius, later a cardinal, directed a commission appointed by Pope Gregory XIII. Based on the work of Usuard, the first complete edition

¹Douillet, p. 94.

²Ibid.

³Macculloch, p. 131.

⁴Chapter II.

⁵Douillet, p. 111.

appeared in 1584. It is "a composite work, the value of whose contents from the historical point of view is very unequal, depending on the sources. . . . There have been many re-editions of the Roman Martyrology of Baronius; the current one is dated 1956."¹

Beatification and Canonization

Rome did not at first endeavor to control canonizations. The earliest recorded instance of canonization by a pope took place in 993, when John XV declared Ulric of Augsburg worthy of veneration.²

From that time, pontifical intervention grew more frequent and the bishops' authority more restricted. In 1170 Alexander III declared that papal authority was necessary for the establishment of the cultus of a new saint. During this century and the following one, the method of canonization was summary and inquiry was as rapid as judgment; St. Francis of Assisi, for example, died in 1226 and was canonized in 1228, and St. Anthony of Padua died in 1231 and was canonized in 1232.³

There was at this time no essential difference between canonization and beatification.⁴ But from the twelfth century

¹Ibid., pp. 95-96.

²Douillet, p. 87; Hippolyte Delehaye, "Canonization," Encyclopedia Britannica, 13th ed., IV, 755.

³Delehaye, "Canonization," p. 755.

⁴Ibid.

onward, procedures became more explicit until in 1634 Pope Urban VIII laid down the broad rules which are still followed today. Beatification was interpreted as mere permission for local veneration, while canonization implied universal precept for veneration. Both processes were restricted to the Holy See.¹

Urban VIII did not call into question those saints who had at that time (1634) been venerated for a hundred years or more. But henceforth, a spontaneous cultus would be more of an obstacle than an advantage; Rome must declare a person Blessed before his sanctity was to be suggested by images of him or writings about him.²

The twenty time-consuming and expensive steps in the process leading to beatification are not listed here,³ because, dating from 1634, they do not apply to the saints whose lives are dealt with in the plays studied here. The procedure has three essential purposes: (1) to establish a reputation for sanctity, (2) to establish the heroic quality of the virtues, and (3) to prove the working of miracles.⁴ A favorable decision on all three leads to the decree de tuto, by which the pope states his decision that the servant of God may safely be beatified. The ceremony of beatification includes the reading, during a solemn mass held in the great hall above St. Peter's basilica, of the papal brief placing the Venerable in the rank of the Blessed.⁵

¹Camillo Beccari, "Beatification and Canonization," The Catholic Encyclopedia (1913), II, 366.

²Douillet, pp. 88-89.

³See Beccari, pp. 366-368.

⁴Delehaye, "Canonization," p. 756.

⁵Ibid.

The individual may be called Venerable if the heroism of his virtue or the reality of his martyrdom can be proved. He can then be venerated in a particular place or by a particular order. If it is not a matter of martyrdom, two miracles must be proved. All of the necessary documents and testimony are considered by the Congregation of Rites at Rome; and for each case two appointees are required: a postulator to build and present the case, and a devil's advocate to destroy it if he can. The latter interesting figure has been characterized by a contemporary novelist:

His official title described him accurately: Promoter of the Faith. The man who kept the Faith pure at any cost of broken lives and broken hearts. He must be learned, meticulous, passionless. He must be cold in judgment, ruthless in condemnation. He might lack charity or piety, but he could not lack precision.¹

Canonization is usually a less lengthy process than beatification. It consists principally in the discussion of the two miracles wrought through the intercession of the Beatus since his beatification. After a number of formalities and prayers, the pope pronounces his judgment that the Blessed is a Saint, and indicates the day on which he will proceed with the ceremony of canonization, which takes place with great solemnity in the basilica of St. Peter.²

Such is the process of "common" or formal canonization. There are exceptions, as when Clement IX in 1671 selected Rose of Lima as patron of Lima and Peru and ordered her cultus. And

¹Morris L. West, The Devil's Advocate (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1959), p. 29.

²Delehaye, "Canonization," p. 756; Douillet, p. 90.

Clement X declared her the patron of all America, the Indies, and the Philippines. This has been called equivalent canonization, and occurs "when the pope, omitting the judicial process and the ceremonies, orders some servant of God to be venerated in the Universal Church; this happens when such a saint has been from a remote period the object of veneration, when his heroic virtues (or martyrdom) and miracles are related by reliable historians, and the fame of his miraculous intercession is uninterrupted."¹ Examples of such canonizations are those of Norbert, Bruno, Peter Nolasco, Raymond Nonnatus, Felix of Falois, Queen Margaret of Scotland, King Stephen of Hungary, Wenceslaus Duke of Bohemia, and Gregory VII.²

Canonization is generally held to be a judgment involving papal infallibility, but "the church's infallibility extends to canonizations that have taken place since 1534 and to no others."³

The Saints Today

Those saints canonized earlier than 1634 have been undergoing careful scrutiny. The cases of the 290 saints listed by the Vatican since 1588 are considered authentic. On a lower level, however, are those whose miraculous works go far back into Christian history but cannot be fully authenticated; and on a third level are the rest of the approximately 20,000, those who today are being sifted. This re-examination was encouraged by John XXIII and other prelates who

¹Beccari, p. 366.

²Ibid.

³Douillet, p. 96. See also p. 90.

felt that reforms would speed the ecumenical movement. Out of these studies have come an announcement that St. Philomena never existed; a demotion of St. George, now thought to be a composite of many saints, and the dragon a figment of medieval superstition and imagination; and a demotion from major saint to third class for the archangel Gabriel, "possibly due to a delay in the arrival of Judgment Day."¹

The concept of sainthood, then, lives on. The saints' intercession is just as real, at least to many, as it ever was. In Sicily, in 1893, a severe distress for lack of rain led the people to decide that St. Francis of Paolo either could not or would not help. Processions and scourgings were also without results.

At last the peasants began to lose patience. Most of the saints were banished. At Palermo they dumped St. Joseph in a garden to see the state of things for himself, and they swore to leave him there in the sun till rain fell. Other saints were turned, like naughty children, with their faces to the wall. Others again, stripped of their beautiful robes, were exiled far from their parishes, threatened, grossly insulted, ducked in horse-ponds. . . . St. Angelo . . . was put in irons. . . .²

In Spain, still known proverbially as "la tierra de cantos y santos," the gypsy bullfighter Joselito, who died in 1921, was ardently devoted to the image of the Virgin known as la Macarena. He gave the dozen spectacular emeralds which are pinned to her robes on festive occasions. Many other Spanish and Latin-American

¹Melton S. Davis, "What Makes a Saint?" The American Weekly, Sept. 16, 1962, pp. 12-13.

²Sir James George Frazer, The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion, abridged ed. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1951), p. 86.

bullfighters joined Joselito in adopting her as their patroness. When Joselito died, la Macarena was, without precedent, dressed in mourning for the funeral. In 1936, her admirers placed her in Joselito's elaborate crypt, his body having been moved to an unmarked vault. During all the months of the siege of Seville, the statue lay there, safe from fire and revolution. Today she stands in a new edifice; her crown of gold has been recovered from the war fund, and her scarlet sash indicates that she is a general in the army of Spain.¹

The Catholic Encyclopedia argues eloquently and, one suspects, defensively for the cult of the saints.² Pope Pius XI wrote in Divinus Illius Magistri (1929):

The saints have ever been, are, and ever will be the greatest benefactors of society, and perfect models for every class and profession, for every state and condition of life, from the simple and uncultured peasant to the master of science and letters, from the humble artisan to the commander of armies, from the father of a family to the ruler of peoples and nations, from simple maidens and matrons of the domestic hearth to queens and empresses.³

One writer suggests that the twentieth-century saint must have determination and dedication perhaps as never before:

Now, this is the most difficult point to make in literature: that the almost irreducible diabolic aspect of the modern world, due to a neo-pagan apostasy, rejecting Christ's

¹Bleanor Crook, "Our Lady of the Bullfighters," The American Weekly, July 29, 1962, p. 11.

²Beccari, p. 364.

³John Chapin (ed.), The Book of Catholic Quotations (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1956), p. 794.

redemption, has to be saved almost against its will by the sacrificial life of saints.¹

Bishop Sheen, who writes rather frequently on saints and their qualities, ascribes the saints' even spirit in a constantly changing world to their dependence on God. Asserting that "the more one is an instrument in the hand of God, the more readily God works through that instrument,"² Bishop Sheen echoes St. Augustine's explanation of the differences among saints: "And if among all the saints some are more saintly than others, it is only because God dwells in them more abundantly."³

This universality of the saints has been noted by modern writers. One scholar has observed that both English and Russian saints have exemplary upbringing, mortify the flesh, struggle against all manners of passions, have complete faith, watch the failure of the demons persecuting them, perform miracles, speak directly to God, anticipate the life to come, and die an untroubled death.⁴

With these characteristics as a starting point, we turn at last to the definitions of a saint.

¹Helmut Hatzfeld, "A Comparison of the Creative and Critical Achievements of the Catholic Revival in France and Germany," PMLA, LXXV (June, 1960), 295.

²Fulton J. Sheen, "A St. Francis in Siberia," Baltimore American, May 7, 1961, "Pictorial Review," p. 2. Other articles on sainthood by Bishop Sheen are dated December 11, 1960; April 9, 1961; and June 23, 1963.

³Letter 187, cited in The Book of Catholic Quotations, p. 792.

⁴Harold Orel, "He Is Meek and He Is Mild: English and Russian Saints," Modern Language Journal, XXXIV (April, 1950), 288-293.

The Saint Defined

Having examined the processes of beatification and canonization,¹ we can perhaps accept this brief definition: "A saint is a person, now dead, whom the church allows to be publicly venerated."²

But this is an external matter. What we are seeking now is insight into the characteristics of the saint, and the nature of the motivating force that develops them.

Intensity seems to be the keynote of that force and of the saints' lives. They represent "the flowering of a faith intense enough to obliterate the world and create its own reality."³ What is special about the saints is, "in all cases, an intense belief in God; an intense love for Jesus Christ; and intense devotion, for Their sakes, to the service of mankind (albeit in the most widely divergent ways)--but still, always for the service and salvation of their fellow-human for Christ's sake."⁴

The saint's desire to serve others arises from his seeking to be like Christ, not from any inclination toward personal fame.

. . . He will try rather for total effacement, personal humiliation, poverty so complete as possible, nay, suffering itself; for, though no Christian morbidly worships pain as such, he knows very well that Christ's Life worked out into His Passion and His appalling death, and he will become wretched if he sees his own life issuing into ease, let

¹Above, pp. 132-135.

²Douillet, p. 84.

³Jo Anne Engelbert, "A Sancho for Saint Francis," Hispania, XLVI (May, 1963), 287. (*Italics inserted.*)

⁴C. C. Martindale (S. J.), What Are Saints? (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1938), p. 19. (*Italics his.*)

alone luxury, or frivolities, or mere wealth, or notoriety. And, in short, it isn't argument, but direct love for Christ, that makes the Saint want to suffer for, and along with Christ. . . .¹

Suffering as a characteristic in the life of the saint has also been mentioned by Thomas S. Kepler: "A saint is one who suffers with his fellowmen, yet retains his contact with the power, wisdom, and love of God in a larger degree than is evidenced in ordinary persons."²

Kepler has recorded this conversation:

Some years ago Rufus Jones asked Baron von Huegel to give the qualities of a saint. In reply he laid down four requisites: (1) a saint is loyal to the faith of the Church; (2) he is heroic; (3) he is recipient of spiritual powers beyond ordinary capacity; (4) he is radiant. Baron von Huegel emphasized "radiance" as the most essential qualification. And it should be, since a "radiant" person is one whose life is "rooted" in God; because of these roots he seems to be a "God-intoxicated" person.³

Other characteristics of the saint as seen by Kepler include humility, because "his life is lost in the Bigness of God," and a desire "to use the results of prayer and devotion to better the world."⁴

Douillet finds that the life of a saint is marked by obedience, not simply to keep the commandments, but to avoid sullyng the presence of Christ; radiance, arising from charity and love;

¹Ibid., p. 155.

²A Journey with the Saints (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1951), p. 7. The author is a professor in the New Testament School of Theology, Oberlin College.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., pp. 8-9.

faith, whole and complete, in the invisible realities of his credo; courage, strong enough for sacrifice and even martyrdom; unified love for God, permeating all other affections; genius, a deep spring of such moving forces as creative power, a lively imagination, a spirited temperament, an urge to do and do quickly and well; heroism, composed of love, nobility, virtue and fearlessness, and great enough for martyrdom; asceticism, a quest for holiness through mortification, so long as it is not an aim in itself but an evidence of love and a way to reach God through mastery of the flesh; prayer, as the saint seeks the strength and guidance he needs to live his demanding life, and live it in the presence of God; miracles, at least in the lives of those saints to whom God has seen fit to give some extraordinary power over nature or over human souls; holiness, based on austerities and hard work even though they undermine the physical health; and godly wisdom combined with humility.¹

On this last point Douillet has written--and we cite him because humility is so prominent as a characteristic of the saint in the Spanish siglo de oro drama--that "it is instructive to notice that the further a saint advances in heroic sanctity, the more dazzling and difficult his achievements, the more he insists that he counts for nothing and that it is God in him who is doing it all."²

Obedience, radiance, faith, courage, love, genius, heroism, asceticism, prayer, miracles, holiness, wisdom, humility: such is the composition of sanctity. With these qualities comes harmony,

¹Douillet, pp. 21-22, 53-68.

²Ibid., p. 68.

for when one is yielded to God he is at peace with himself. "This harmony begets a joy that cannot be taken away. . . . In the history of the world there never has been a sad saint, because sanctity and sadness are opposites."¹

With such qualities, the saint has naturally come to represent high ideals.

. . . For the best part of the history of Christendom the "saint" embodied the highest ideal--moral, spiritual, and social--of the age. Saintliness was the last word in the catalogue of virtues.²

This was particularly so in the medieval period. And we have seen in the preceding chapter that medieval religious ideas were markedly preserved in Golden Age Spain.

The legends of the saints contain the medieval idea in its fulness. The saint is the truly perfect man. He must have all the virtues, and be free of every fault. His wisdom must be such as exceeds human powers. He must work all imaginable wonders, outdo the greatest magicians in magic, conquer the power of the Devil himself. He must be the master of Nature, able to dominate the fiercest beasts, and to command the winds and the sea. The direst torments cannot daunt him, the most puissant princes are unable to dismay him. Whether the saints are men or women, strong or feeble, of mature age or infants in arms, they still speak, reason, argue, act, and conquer death with the power of God, and no power under God can overcome them. . . . The saints practise all the virtues in a superhuman way--meekness, mercy, forgiveness of injuries, mortification, self-denial--and they make these virtues lovable, and invite Christians to practise them.³

¹Fulton J. Sheen, "There Are No Sad Saints," Baltimore American, June 23, 1962, "Pictorial Review," p. 4.

²Mecklin, pp. 6-7.

³Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger (translators and adapters), The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1941), I, Introduction, x.

The Hierarchy of Saints

It has been noted that miracles are not a requirement for the saintly life;¹ and Douillet makes it clear that a saint's holiness is not to be measured by the degree to which he attains a mystical union in prayer.²

There are, then, differences among saints. Guardini classifies the saints as (1) those who give their lives as martyrs; (2) those who express their horror of sin by living austere lives in solitude; (3) those who, like St. Francis, find their communion with God in poverty; (4) those who are impelled by the command to love their neighbors, and, like St. Vincent de Paul, dedicate their lives to the poor and sick; (5) those who sense the grandeur of God's truth and, like St. Thomas, spend their lives investigating it; and (6) those like St. Francis Xavier who seek to follow the admonition to take the gospel to the whole world. There are yet other graces and vocations, declares Guardini; but all signify that the saint loves God without reservation, and is impelled by that love to realize something extraordinary.³ The degree of saintliness is in no way indicated by the particular calling of the individual saint.

The Book of Saints offers these categories: "Liturgically, Saints are classified as Apostles, Martyrs, Bishops or Confessors (Saints who were neither Bishops nor Martyrs); similarly female Saints are Martyrs, Virgins, Widows, Penitents, etc."⁴

¹Above, p. 134.

²Douillet, p. 62.

³Guardini, pp. 16-17.

⁴The Book of Saints, p. vii.

It is also useful to identify the saint as a patron or a founder, if he is either or both. The idea of the patron reaches back to the days when a Roman slave, freed by some benefactor, would devote his life to certain trustworthy services for, and dependence on, his patronus. From at least as early as the third century, patrons were chosen, and as the centuries passed, every town, country, craft, guild, chivalric order, and religious confraternity had its patron saint. At the same time there were certain saints who were invoked against certain problems: St. Christopher against death, and St. Roch against the plague. These were heavenly patrons, superior to any earthly ones.

There is no airtight compartment between our planet and paradise. The saints there know us. In the mirror of God's glory, their spirits see and hear us. Their prayers rise without ceasing before the throne and before the Lamb of God. And their prayers are powerful. The prayers of the saints can rock the very heavens and open the floodgates of God's grace.

Saints are saints because they did God's will upon earth; as a reward, God listens closely to them in heaven. . . .¹

Patrons are placed in four groups: (1) name saints, those for whom a person is named at baptism; (2) specialists, those who are invoked in certain ailments, afflictions, or circumstances; (3) region patrons, whether of a parish or of a whole country; and (4) patrons of work and play, whether for lawyers or bankers, actors or crooners.²

¹M. F. Wedge, You and Your Patron Saints (St. Paul: Catechetical Guild Educational Society, 1955), p. 6. See also Macculloch, pp. 125-127.

²Ibid., pp. 7-10.

One of the oldest patron saints is the Old Testament prophet Elijah, liturgically commemorated by the Carmelite Order as its principal patron.¹

The history of the founders is usually traced to St. Anthony, born in 251. Touched by Christ's admonition to sell all and give to the poor,² he distributed his possessions to his neighbors and to the poor, and retired into solitude. "His example was soon followed by others, and he thus laid the foundation of the eremitical life that gave great celebrity to Egypt, the land of its birth, the deserts of which were soon peopled with holy solitaries."³ Monasticism in the East reached its peak by about 363, when St. Basil composed a rule for his monks and bound them by vows. In the West, St. Augustine is remembered as the founder of the Regular Canons and the Hermits of St. Augustine--who are still in dispute as to which community was founded first. In the first half of the sixth century, St. Benedict gave Western monastic life its full development with the foundation of his order at Montecassino. St. Benedict's order is said to have converted northern and western Europe, taught civilization to the barbarians, kept the lamp of knowledge burning during the dark ages, and preserved the remnants of a classical past.⁴ St. Dominic and St. Francis are important not only as founders, but for their

¹The Book of Saints, p. 195.

²Matthew 19:21.

³Charles W. Currier, History of Religious Orders (Boston: Macconnell Bros. & Co., 1896), p. 4.

⁴Ibid., p. 6.

influence on all of monasticism. Their mendicant orders revolutionized the religious community by encouraging monks to leave the walls of the monastery--though it still served as a retreat for the refreshing of soul and body--"to mingle with the world, in order to draw the world to God."¹

We conclude our chapter on the saints with a note on their organization in heaven. The reader's attention is called to the presence of Old Testament patriarchs and prophets amid the other saints believed to be around the throne.

The one conception of the saintly man, of the servant of Christ, is embodied in an infinite variety of forms. The Litany of the Saints takes us rapidly through this 'celestial hierarchy.' Beginning at the throne of the most holy Trinity and passing thence to Mary, the Mother of God, and then through the hosts of the angelic choirs to the solitary penance of the great Precursor, St. John the Baptist, it leads us to St. Joseph, the foster-father of the Lord, the man of quiet dutifulness and simplicity of soul. Next to them tower the figures of the Patriarchs and Prophets, primitive and sometimes strange figures, but men of strong faith, of sacred constancy, of ardent desire. Sharply contrasted with them are the witnesses of the fulfilment, the apostles and disciples of the Lord: Peter, Paul, Andrew, James and the rest. And while every name denotes a special gift, a special character, a special life, yet all are united in one only love and in one gospel of joy and gladness. . . .²

¹Ibid., pp. 13-14.

²Adam, p. 122.

CHAPTER V

THE SAINT'S PLAY IN GOLDEN AGE SPAIN

Medieval Roots of the Comedia de Santos

Brief mention was made in Chapter III of the preservation of the medieval in the religion, the drama, and the attitudes of seventeenth-century Spain. A general tendency of Spanish history is the "supervivencia del espíritu medieval, a pesar de las innovaciones renacentistas."¹ The personification of abstractions on the stage, in both the autos sacramentales and the comedias a lo divino, is a recollection of things medieval; and in hagiographic subjects have been seen a "pervivencia medieval"² and, more specifically, a manifestation of the medieval sacred drama.³

Perhaps this unbroken tradition helps explain the high level of achievement of the Spanish comedia de santos. "Dans aucun pays ce genre n'a eu un développement aussi riche, aussi long, aussi brillant; nulle part il n'a été illustré par tant de chefs-d'oeuvre."⁴ Another factor contributing to the enrichment of these plays with discussions of church doctrines and exaltations of the saints and martyrs was the theological background of the authors.

¹Wardropper, p. 119.

²Zamora Vicente, p. 239.

³Romeu Figueras, I, 6.

⁴Reynier, p. 823.

Theology was a basic subject--what might today be termed part of the core curriculum--of the universities of the period. Furthermore, Mira de Mescua was a royal chaplain; Tirso de Molina was a monk; and, according to Reynier,¹ Alarcón, Rojas Zorrilla, Moreto, and Calderón were also churchmen. Lope de Vega became an ordained priest in 1614; in 1625, when it was founded, he joined the Congregation of St. Peter, an organization of priests in Madrid; and he also became a member of the Inquisition. "Enfin la matière de ces compositions religieuses est d'une richesse infinie."²

The comedia de santos also reminds us of the medieval religious drama in that their authors paid little heed to the dramatic rules.³ Often there is no unity, scant plot, and little logic in the development of character. The characters are painted with broad strokes; the chief interest resides not in them, but in the situations and tableaux.⁴

Yet another element of this genre comparable to the medieval drama is the brutal realism of many seventeenth-century religious plays. The decapitated Boniface in Rojas' La vida en el ataúd and the gruesome appearance of Calderón's príncipe constante in the play of that name have been cited as examples.⁵ The crucified

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., pp. 825-826.

³Ibid., p. 826.

⁴Literary considerations of the comedia de santos will be dealt with more fully in the following chapter.

⁵Reynier, p. 827. By way of comparison, the seventeenth-century English play Titus Andronicus is so repulsive in its brutality that Shakespeare's authorship has been denied.

and bleeding Leonido in Lope's La fianza satisfecha also come to mind.¹

Again, there is something of the medieval in the naïve faith of the audience. Miracles were accepted whether simple or elaborate; if it was stated that the infant San Nicolás abstained from the breast two days a week, no question arose. This deep faith led to simple affirmation rather than questioning.²

Importance and Popularity of the Comedia de Santos in its Day

It has been established³ that Lope de Vega exerted a prominent influence upon the society of his day. And of Lope's plays about saints, Ticknor wrote, "They belonged to his age and country as much as he himself did."⁴ The great number of such plays is explained, according to Ticknor, by the willing faith of the audience and Lope's "extraordinary facility, grace, and ingenuity, which never failed to consult and gratify the popular taste."⁵

¹Fortunately, it was not customary to go to such lengths as did those who, in 1549, presented La mort d'Holopherne in Tournai, where Prince Philip made a visit as future sovereign of the Low Countries. A criminal condemned to death was given the role of Holophernes. Apparently ignorant of what lay in store for him, he meekly submitted to mistreatment and at the last, in full view of the spectators, his head was struck off with a scimitar.--García Soriano, tomo XIV, cuaderno 69 (October, 1927), p. 556, note 1.

²González Ruiz, I, liii.

³Chapter III.

⁴George Ticknor, History of Spanish Literature (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1891), p. 292.

⁵Ibid. On the willing faith of the audience, see Chapter III.

Valbuena sees in the comedia de santos a manifestation of the heroism which so strongly appealed to the seventeenth-century mind: "Las comedias de santos son el verdadero retrato de la época, que nos la presenta con toda su grandeza, su sublimación, su heroica santidad."¹

Ricardo del Arco² asserts that the nation's intense Catholic beliefs and devotion, before which even the monarchy had to exercise caution, found an outlet in the comedias de santos. These plays had a highly national and social aim, declares Cañete; "eran el arma certera del católico que, envuelta en flores eternas, disparaba contra los errores del protestantismo y la herejía verdades eternas."³ The writers were pressed by the audiences and by their own convictions to weave into the play all the well-known legends and anecdotes about a given saint. All the inconsistencies, the lack of unity, and the inverosimilitude were excused by faith.⁴ Quite acceptable, then, is Cañete's assertion that, in order to understand these works, "necesitamos trasladarnos completamente a la época del catolicismo

¹Valbuena, "Calderón," Historia general de las literaturas hispánicas, ed. G. Díaz Plaja (Barcelona: Editorial Barna, 1953), III, 246.

²"Lope de Vega," Historia general de las literaturas hispánicas, ed. G. Díaz Plaja (Barcelona: Editorial Barna, 1953), III, 246.

³Cañete, "Sobre el drama religioso . . . ," p. 401.

⁴Adolf Friedrich von Schack, Historia de la literatura y del arte dramático en España, trans. Eduardo de Mier (Madrid: M. Tello, 1885-1887), III, 161-164.

que les dió ser. Y . . . sumergirnos, por decirlo así, en las creencias de tiempos pasados."¹

It was soon after 1600 that the number of plays dealing with the adventures of saints became so great that they have come to be considered as a separate class, called comedias de santos.² These plays, with the autos sacramentales, are seen by one writer as the result of their authors' tendency to follow a wave of national conscience created by the great conquests of Spain.³ Schack considers them to have had a double purpose: to entertain and to edify.⁴ As for entertainment, the popularity of these plays will be dealt with below; as for edification, they are said to have had two principal religious themes: (1) to show the disastrous end of pride, and contrast with it the excellence of simple humility; and (2) to reveal the dangers of doubt, sure to lead to perdition, as opposed to the Catholic faith, which, by means of grace and repentance, saves even the greatest monsters.⁵ And a further major purpose was to set before the people a living model--perfection in the flesh.

¹Cañete, "Sobre el drama religioso," p. 402.

²Ticknor, p. 289.

³Farinelli, p. 314.

⁴Schack, p. 161.

⁵Cañete, "Sobre el drama religioso," p. 407. For those who object to the intervention of angels and devils in the comedias de santos, Cañete points (p. 406) to the furies in Greek tragedy and to the witches in Shakespeare.

Given their appeal to "la religiosidad española, la herencia de los padres, la nota fundamental del carácter nacional,"¹ and given also the remarkable popularity of the theater in general, it is not surprising that the comedia de santos caught the public fancy. Reviving and poetically elaborating traditional faith and patriotism, and the epic characters and events related to them, gave the comedia every opportunity for success. And how it succeeded! During the time of Philip IV, who came to the throne in 1621, the comedia grew to be "la ocupación fundamental de los españoles."² Nobles, townspeople, officials, monks, and nuns all followed the urge to create a dramatic work; and in Madrid, as the center of theatrical activity, there were performances almost daily, with few empty seats.³ Generally only deaths in the royal family or public calamities suspended performances altogether.⁴

The plays about saints, ministering, as we have seen, to the seventeenth-century Spaniards' intense national pride, religious fervor, taste for realism, and love of the traditional past, came to have in Spain a development and importance unsurpassed elsewhere. In Naples, for example, they were frankly imitated; G. R. Ceriello has written that virtually all the religious dramas produced in

¹Pfandl, Historia de la literatura nacional española, p. 130.

²Deleito y Piñuela, "La vida madrileña," p. 275.

³Ibid.

⁴Ricardo del Arco, "Más sobre Tirso de Molina y el medio social," Boletín de la Real Academia Española, XXXIII (1953), 19. The decrees will be discussed later.

Naples in the seventeenth century were imitations of the Spanish comedia de santos.¹ The popularity of the dramatized saint's life in Spain lasted throughout the century. Cristóbal Pérez Pastor,² in a list of seventy-seven titles, offers twenty which are comedias bíblicas or comedias de santos--though a few may have been autos sacramentales. As late as 1696, in Valladolid, seven comedias de santos were performed in only two months; San Antonio Abad, "con máquina real," was performed twice, and Santa Rosa del Perú, three times.³ Virtually one-third of the plays performed in that two-month period were sacred. Alfonso Par's article⁴ indicates that such plays as Santa Rita and San Ambrosio were performed in Barcelona far into the eighteenth century.

A further example of the public acclaim for comedias de santos is cited by Díaz de Escovar. San Cristóbal had been advertised and rehearsed for performance in the corral de la montería in Seville on Sunday, January 25, 1643. But on that day the Inquisition seized the original from the director and forbade its performance. The director, Manuel Vallejo, stepped before the curtain to make

¹"Comedias de Santos a Napoli nel '600 (Con documenti inediti)," Bulletin Hispanique, XXII (1920), 77.

²Nuevos datos acerca del histrionismo español en los siglos XVI y XVII (Madrid: Revista Española, 1901), index.

³Narciso Alonso Cortés, "El teatro en Valladolid," Boletín de la Real Academia Española, IX (1922), 473-475.

⁴"Representaciones teatrales en Barcelona durante el siglo XVIII," Boletín de la Real Academia Española, tomo XVI, cuaderno 78 (June, 1929), 326-346, and cuaderno 79 (October, 1929), 492-513.

explanation, and to offer to perform whatever the audience chose. But "aquí fué Troya." The audience liked what it had heard and imagined about the scheduled play, and began to shout, "San Cristóbal, San Cristóbal." Vallejo explained again, adding that to perform the play would mean excomuni3n mayor for the company. All to no avail. The crowd broke chairs and benches, pelted the stage, and destroyed scenery and wardrobes. The next day the damage was an attraction for curious sightseers.¹

To such an extent was the public a concern of the dramatist--even the writer of sacred drama. It is an interesting fact that the Golden Age Spanish audience, largely illiterate and without literary or theological refinement, attended willingly and with spiritual profit some of the most difficult and intellectual dramas ever written.²

Objections and Decrees

Of course, the popular enthusiasm for the dramatized saint's life was not universal. As early as 1598, the dramatist Lupericio Leonardo de Argensola was so shocked by the incongruity of immoral actors and actresses playing the parts of the Virgin and Joseph in an auto sacramental that he wrote a letter to the king protesting the reopening of the theaters, closed since the death of Princess

¹Narciso Díaz de Escovar, Siluetas escénicas del pasado (Barcelona: Viuda de Luis Tasso, n. d.), pp. 250-253.

²Wardropper, p. 77.

Catalina in 1597. Argensola asked for a ban at least against representation of sacred subjects. He condemned actresses for their use of dress and suggestive dances to effect the downfall of men, and covered both actors and actresses with a blanket accusation of immorality in their private lives.¹

In 1609, in his Treatise Against Public Diversions, Father Juan de Mariana wrote with indignation about the conviction in Alcalá de Henares of a woman who played Mary Magdalene for living in concubinage with the actor "who with pomp and majesty, voice and actions, represented Christ, the Son of God Himself."²

The incidents cited by Argensola and Mariana were used over and over again, still appearing as late as 1751.³ During the entire seventeenth century, certain clerics (Jesuits in particular) waged a relentless warfare against theatrical representations, condemning the lives of the performers and insisting that the theater was a school of lasciviousness. Disasters and pestilences were, by some, considered divine punishments sent upon the nation for allowing the continuance of the theater.

In 1617, Suárez de Figueroa, "who possessed an intimate knowledge of the theater of his time,"⁴ put plays in two categories: comedias de cuerpo and comedias de ingenio o de capa y espada. The

¹John A. Cook, Neo-Classic Drama in Spain (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1959), pp. 157-158.

²Ibid., p. 158.

³Ibid.

⁴Rennert, p. 275.

latter class he did not define; but of the first he wrote that if we except those plays about the kings of Hungary or princes of Transylvania, comedias de cuerpo are such as treat the life of some saint and use all kinds of machinery and stage artifices to attract the rabble. Generally called comedias de santos, they are "excellently suited to beginners, for, however worthless they may turn out, the audience will not dare to hiss them, out of respect for the saint. They are, moreover, the easiest to write. . . ." ¹ Perhaps there is a suggestion here as to why half the works of a third-rate playwright like Lanini Sagredo were comedias de santos while the great dramatists wrote comparatively few.

In 1622 there was published a work for which Menéndez y Pelayo had great respect: ² Francisco de la Barreda's "Invectiva a las comedias que prohibió Trajano, y Apología por las nuestras," ninth in a series of essays accompanying his translation of the Panegírico de Plinio a Trajano. Barreda censures those who introduce divine personages and saints:

Pecan en el decoro, porque ¿cómo pueden colores humanos retratar luces divinos? Yerran en la propiedad, porque no hay afectos en aquellos sujetos sacrosantos, sino purezas y tranquilidades. . . . ³

¹Ibid.

²"Apenas encuentro palabras con que encarecer el mérito de este olvidado discurso."--Menéndez y Pelayo, Historia de las ideas estéticas en España (Santander: Aldus, 1940), II, 316.

³Ibid., p. 320. A little farther on, Barreda made this un-twentieth-century commentary: "Mientras la poesía no fuere clara como el sol, no es poesía."

In 1689, Padre Ignacio de Camargo in his Discurso theologico sobre los theatros y comedias de este siglo¹ produced a veritable diatribe against the comedias de santos. He found that they had not only all the objectionable qualities of the cloak and sword plays--courtships, impure love, immoral actresses, music, disguises, dances, obscene interludes--but also the "monstruosidad horrorosa" of mixing the sacred with the profane, of confusing light and darkness, of joining earth with heaven. Camargo found intolerable the mixing of saintly virtues with lascivious love, of penitential actions with comic interludes. He condemned the gracioso for uttering buffoonery and playing a rascally man, often a drunkard, in the sacred garb of the clergy. He went on to cite the case first used by Mariana as a protest against human portrayal of Christ; and he objected strenuously to the laughter-provoking effect produced when an actress of known immorality plays the Virgin and asks Gabriel, "How can this be, seeing I know not a man?"

There were, of course, contrary opinions. In 1682, the Parte quinta of Calderón's plays, published by Vera Tassis, contained an aprobación by the Trinitarian father Manuel de Guerra y Ribera, in which it was stated that the plays with themes of love produce only innocent diversion, those based on history serve to correct error, and the comedias de santos are exemplary.² Immediately after

¹Cotarelo y Mori, Bibliografía de las controversias sobre la licitud del teatro en España (Madrid: Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1904), pp. 121-128.

²Ibid., p. 336.

publication of this volume, a storm of protest arose among the Jesuits. "In this controversy, as indeed throughout the campaign against the immorality of Golden Age comedy, the church by no means presented a solid front."¹

The attacks of the church were insistent enough, however, to result in a royal decree forbidding theatrical performances at every outbreak of pestilence and every death of a member of the royal family.² Principal decrees were as follows:³

- 1597: The death in November of Princess Catherine, Duchess of Savoy and sister of Philip III, led to suspension of dramatic performances.
- 1598: In May, the king, yielding to the entreaties of the theologians, decreed an indefinite suspension of the theater. A memorial pointing out that various hospitals received income from the performances had made Philip incline favorably, but he was overruled by his confessor, Fray Diego de Yepes.
- 1599: In April, performances were again permitted on the occasion of the betrothal of Philip III to the Archduchess Margaret.
- 1600: A council of nine (four of the King's Council, four theologians, and Fray Gaspar de Córdoba, the king's confessor at the time) drew up, in April, these recommendations:
 - (1) Subject matter must not be evil or licentious. Immodest dances, gestures, and words must be eliminated.
 - (2) The number of companies is reduced to four.

¹Cook, p. 154.

²Ibid., p. 152.

³Rennert, chapters X and XI.

- (3) Women must not appear on the stage. Boys impersonating them must be modest. Monks and prelates are not to attend performances at all.
 - (4) There must be no performances in Lent, nor on the Sundays in Advent, nor on the first day of the three Pascuas.
 - (5) In churches and convents, only works of a purely devotional character may be performed.
- 1603: At least twenty-one companies having held out, it was decreed that only eight would be allowed.
 - 1608: More regulations, largely underlying the 1615 decree.
 - 1611: The October death of Margarita de Austria, wife of Philip III, resulted in a suspension of unknown duration.
 - 1615: Regulations were issued re-enacting those of don Juan de Tejada, 1608. Twelve companies were approved.
 - 1641: The issuance of virtually the same regulations indicates they were dead letters.
 - 1644: The death in October of Isabel de Bourbon, first wife of Philip IV, caused a temporary closing of the theaters.
 - 1646: The theaters were closed on account of the death, again in October, of Prince Baltasar Carlos.¹
 - 1653: A decree specified the dress for women on the stage.
 - 1665: The theaters were closed in September because of the death of Philip IV.
 - 1666: In November, they were reopened.
 - 1682: Dramatic performances were suspended in July because of the plague.

¹The first comedia given in Madrid when the theaters were reopened was Santa María Magdalena; but it is not clear whether it was the one ascribed to Lope, or that of Vélez de Guevara, or that of Jacinto Maluenda.--Ibid., p. 250.

Hume adds that one of the last acts of Queen Isabel, who died in 1646, was to issue a stringent decree, probably suggested by Sor María de Agreda, with regard to the comedias of which she and the king had been inordinately fond. The decree forbade fictitious plots, allowing only scenes from the Scriptures or from history. The theaters were closed in the winter of 1645-1646 on the advice of Sor María, but were reopened in October of 1649 when Philip IV's second marriage took place.¹

It is not surprising that a playwright, especially if he lives by his pen, should adapt his art as best he can to these

¹Hume, The Court of Philip IV, pp. 393-394. With respect to the fondness of Philip and Isabel for comedias, palace accounts show that beginning in 1622 (thirteen years before the death of Lope de Vega), performances were given in the apartments of the queen on Sundays, Thursdays, and holidays. In one four-month period, the best companies gave forty-three performances, for which they were paid 13,500 reales. Many improvised buffooneries occurred in the royal presence. One day Calderón was portraying Adam, Vélez was Padre Eterno, and Moreto was Abel. Calderón had snatched some pears from Vélez a while earlier.

Adán: Padre Eterno de la luz,
¿por qué en mí mal perseveras?

Padre: Porque os comisteis las peras,
y juro a Dios y a esta cruz
que os he de echar a galeras.

Calderón defended himself at such length that Padre finally said:
Por el cielo superior,
y de mi mano formado,
que me pesa haber criado
un Adán tan hablador.

There followed an amorous scene between Adam and Eve:

Adán: Eva, mi dulce placer,
carne de la carne mía . . .

Eva: Mi esperanza, mi alegría . . .

Abel: Estos me quieren hacer,--interrupted Moreto,
who was impatiently awaiting his entrance.--Deleito y Piñuela,
"La vida madrileña," VII (April, 1930), 184-185.

decrees, especially when, as was the case with Lope, the first decrees came just when the playwright was rising into favor.

Lope was compelled to accomodate himself to this new state of things, and seems to have done it easily. . . . He had . . . early written religious plays, like the old Mysteries and Moralities; and he now undertook to infuse their spirit into the more attractive forms of his secular drama, and thus produce an entertainment which, while it might satisfy the popular audiences of the capital, would avoid the rebukes of the Church. His success was as marked as it had been before. . . .¹

He often drew upon the Bible. The Church, having approved dramatizations of Scriptural episodes for four centuries, could not now easily forbid them altogether.²

Still, even these dramas were not able to satisfy audiences accustomed to the more national spirit of plays founded on fashionable life and intriguing adventures. A wider range, therefore, was taken. Striking religious events of all kinds--especially those found in the lives of holy men--were resorted to, and ingenious stories were constructed out of the miracles and sufferings of saints, which were often as interesting as the intrigues of Spanish gallants, or the achievements of the old Spanish heroes, and were sometimes hardly less free and wild.³

Lope's Comedias de Santos as an Indication of Popular Piety

Given the setting just described, we begin to see clearly the collaboration of the public in Lope's plays.⁴ We can perhaps agree with Ricardo del Arco that in the comedias de santos we

¹Ticknor, pp. 282-283.

²Ibid., p. 283.

³Ibid., p. 288. The language of Ricardo del Arco in La sociedad española en las obras dramáticas de Lope de Vega, p. 74, is strikingly similar.

⁴See Chapter III.

find the "catolicismo vulgar español," and hear the authentic language of popular piety, spontaneous and sometimes crude.¹ Lope, he declares, "nunca hizo traición en sus comedias a la religiosidad del pueblo español, antes al contrario."² At the same time, the audiences' knowledge of church history was such that they understood the allusions in these plays,³ so that the comedias de santos were a faithful interpretation of the popular faith of the day.⁴ With this thought we wish to couple Valbuena's suggestion that although certain aspects of the saints' plays may have been later improved, to Lope is owed the model for the comedias de santos of the whole seventeenth century.⁵

¹Del Arco, La sociedad española, p. 75.

²Ibid., p. 73.

³See Chapter III.

⁴Del Arco, La sociedad española, p. 75.

⁵Valbuena, Historia de la literatura española, II, 239.

CHAPTER VI

THE PLAYS

This chapter contains summaries of the twenty-five comedias de santos which are believed to be from the pen of Lope de Vega. Though four of them--La gran columna fogosa, La bienaventurada madre Teresa de Jesús, La devoción del Rosario, and El nacimiento de Cristo--are listed under "Plays of Doubtful Authenticity" by Morley and Bruerton, these writers suggest in each case that the burden of proof lies upon the doubter. Those plays for which Morley and Bruerton support the doubtful ascription are listed in Appendix A. Some attention will be given to Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria y Guanches de Tenerife, La buena guarda, and La fianza satisfecha, which are not comedias de santos but which do supply further insight into the concept of sainthood and into doctrines held by the author.

The volume in which a play was read is indicated, in all cases save one, by Academy III, IV, or V,¹ or Aguilar III.² Wording of the title is given as it appears in the volume where the play was read. Dates of composition are according to Morley and Bruerton.

¹Lope de Vega, Obras dramáticas de Lope de Vega, ed. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1890-1913), III, IV, and V.

²Lope de Vega, Obras escogidas, ed. Federico Carlos Sainz de Robles (Madrid: Aguilar, 1955), III.

Following the summaries are observations on the proportions among the saints, with their backgrounds, characteristics, and attitudes; the chief doctrines presented; the heresies attacked; the importance of miracles and demonology; and the sources and techniques of the play. Also cited are studies in which substantial mention of the play occurs, though no claim is made that all such references have been included.¹

In the list of characters under each title, the saints are indicated by asterisks.

An effort has been made to follow the basic format of Spencer and Schevill in their excellent study of Vélez de Guevara.² The summaries of the present study, however, in order to show the characteristics of the saints and the doctrines they hold, are of necessity longer than those of Spencer and Schevill.

¹The introductions of Menéndez y Pelayo and Sainz de Robles, self-evident from the listed volume, will not be cited.

²Forrest E. Spencer and Rudolph Schevill, The Dramatic Works of Luis Vélez de Guevara (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937).

Comedia de San Segundo, compuesta por
Lope de Vega Carpio¹

First lines. Segundo: Raros milagros, Torcato,
De este cristiano me cuentas

Last lines. Lisandro: Avila, que, según aquí se ha visto,
Ha desde Cristo que conoce a Cristo.

CHARACTERS²

*San Segundo	Abiatar, pontífice	Erastro, sacerdote
*Torcato	Josías, escriba	Lucifer
*Indalecio	Tres demonios	Satanás
*Santiago	Lipsias, gentil	Astarot, demonio
*Eufrasio	Teócrito, gentil	La Idolatría
*Teodoro	*San Pedro	Lisandro, criado
*Esicio	Tancredo, caballero	Lucindo, criado
*Cecilio	Vandalino, caballero	Trebacio, viejo
*Nuestra Señora	Luparia, dama	Rutilia, viuda
Hermógenes, sabio	Clórida, su criada	Una Inspiración Divina
Pileto, su discípulo	Diana, diosa	Nicasio, presbítero
Rufino, niño	Eliseo, niño	Floro, presbítero

Jornada primera

Segundo, Indalecio, and Torcato, Spaniards of the first century, discuss the mysteries, including the Trinity and the virgin

¹Acad. IV, 431-462. Written in 1594.

²Asterisks indicate saints.

birth, of the new religion (Christianity) being taught in Spain. This God appeals more to their reason than mortals or statues. Segundo suggests that if men adore the works of nature, how much more should they adore the Creator of nature. They declare their acceptance of Christianity.

Santiago (St. James the apostle) shares with Bufracio and Teodoro his regret that his efforts to fulfil the Virgin's commission to spread the gospel have yielded so little fruit. When Segundo declares his faith, Santiago promises him the rank of cornerstone of the Spanish Church, "segundo de Diego, segundo de Cristo." Esicio and Cecilio, speaking of the superiority of the immortal God to those of wood and stone and of the hope of the resurrection, elect to join the others in requesting baptism.

Diego is explaining a difficult point of doctrine when music is heard and Mary and two angels descend. She brings her Son's blessing, saying Diego can consider himself her nephew and therefore Christ's cousin. She foretells his slow progress, but adds that his death as a martyr will convert many. Pronouncing a blessing, she disappears. Diego resolves to build in her honor a church--del Pilar de Zaragoza--the first Christian church in Spain. But first they must go to Jerusalem.

In that city, Hermógenes, a magician, tries to convince Fileto, his pupil, that he can produce miracles as easily as the Christians. Fileto asks to see Celia, his beloved; when Hermógenes produces her image in a little mirror, Fileto is chagrined to see that she is with an old man.

Encouraged by the Jewish elders Abiatar and Josías, Hermógenes and Fileto challenge Diego, Segundo, and Torcato to a duel of miracle-working magic. Diego rapidly reviews the Messianic prophecies and Fileto is converted on the spot. Diego hands Hermógenes a piece of cloth and tells the magician to slap him with it, but Hermógenes is unable to raise his hand. Diego casts three devils out of him, "el uno bien vestido" and called Lucifer. Diego commissions Segundo to care for the spiritual needs of Spain. The act ends as Roman soldiers, led by the Jewish dignitaries, promise the death of Diego.

Jornada segunda

So that the audience might be informed of Diego's recent martyrdom, Segundo tells Indalecio the whole story. Herod sought to please the people by condemning him,

Que los príncipes a veces,
de opinión del pueblo ciego,
fieras leyes ejecutan
en humildes extranjeros.

He also had Peter imprisoned but the Apostle was miraculously released.¹

Peter ordains Segundo and sends the new bishop to Spain, with Torcato, Indalecio, and Bufrasio. He tells them they have a jewel of great price, and admonishes them to combine faith, virtue, and science, and

¹James' death and Peter's release are described in Acts 12.

con la ciencia, la abstinencia;
 con la abstinencia, la paciencia;
 con la paciencia, piedad;
 con la piedad, caridad,
 y del prójimo clemencia.¹

In Guadix, Luparia, her beliefs challenged by Vandalino, who loves her, asks for the truth from a statue of Diana. The image surprisingly replies that there is one true God without beginning. He sent His Son to be born of Mary in Bethlehem, His name is Christ, and He was crucified. Luparia determines to seek His religion.

On a hill overlooking the city, Torcato tells Segundo that he is second (Diego was first) in the effort to evangelize Spain. Segundo humbly insists that he is the least of the seven. A crowd gathers for a heathen ritual, and when Segundo and Torcato try to convert the priest, Brastro, he and the others turn on the two Christians to kill them. Through Vandalino's telling Luparia about it, we learn that after Segundo and Torcato had crossed to safety, the bridge collapsed, resulting in the death of many of their pursuers. Those remaining are converted. Torcato offers a prayer of thanksgiving and praise. The evangelists submissively accept their commissions; Segundo, of course, will go to Avila. They pray before separating.

When Vandalino offers Diana's temple for a church, Torcato orders the false god to flee. A devil, with fire, laments his overthrow and the statue falls.

¹Cf. II Peter 1:5-7.

Jornada tercera

Lucifer complains to Satanás and Astarot that the death of the God-man ruined his plans. First, Diego took hosts away from him and now--even the devil makes a pun on the name--"el que ha sido segundo es un Segundo." Satanás says he won one of the twelve, and he can surely win "un segundo." La Idolatría appears, as Lucifer's daughter, dressed in a blaze of painted images. She describes the "Segundo sin segundo" who is winning all the people of Avila. Lucifer promises a laurel of fire to the one who overcomes Segundo.

Segundo, dressed as a bishop, tells his servant Lisandro that because he "has charity," the Spirit will guide him if he will preach. He admonishes Lisandro to study the Scriptures--the books of Moses, Kings, Judges, and especially the saintly prophets. When Lisandro compares him to Paul, Segundo replies that he is also a disciple of Lisandro's. Why such humility? Lisandro wants to know. Segundo answers that the Master taught humility when He washed the disciples' feet.

Some poverty-stricken citizens enter and ask for food. Lucindo declares the granary was emptied yesterday, but Segundo insists that he go look. He returns to shout that it is overflowing. Such needed things are a gift from heaven, according to Segundo, and heaven belongs to the poor and the meek.

A demon, dressed as a woman, comes asking to confess, but tries to seduce Segundo. "Her" cloak falls, revealing flames, and Segundo cries to the Virgin and Santiago for help. Santiago, with a bishop's crosier, appears on a cloud, and the demon leaves noisily.

Santiago gives the crosier, as a symbol of divine aid, to Segundo, who rises "por invención" to receive it.

Lucifer, Astarot, and Satanás wonder whether Segundo can be tempted on some point other than the flesh. They lament that he has no tendency toward simony, avarice, envy, or gluttony. He is temperate even in his utterances, he fasts, and he gives all that he has to the poor.

Because he does not feel well enough to pursue his usual activities, Segundo is writing letters. He utters, as he writes, a prayer expressing faith in such promises as those of Psalm 91. He falls asleep, and an inspiration in angelic form announces that today he will join God, i.e., die. He foretells the fame of the relics of San Segundo, and praises the great king who

Será Felipe segundo,
y tu Segundo, que basta
para que le ayudes . . .

Astarot takes his turn at attempting to ruin Segundo by adding errors to the letter. Reading it over after awakening, Segundo is shocked, and the letter is burned. The servants, alarmed at his steady weakening, want to send for a physician; but Segundo asks for a physician of the soul instead. Kneeling on a rug before the servants and the poor who love him, he offers saintly advice, quoting Scripture often: "El principio del saber es el temor de Dios." He admonishes them to avoid strife, respect each other, and leave off envy and malice. He declares he would continue speaking, but he is too weak--not too weak, however, to make

one last play on his name. Amid celestial music and popular acclaim he dies, and is carried out on a chair in a torchlight procession.

Observations

Identity of the Saints

Secundus, Torquatus, Indaletius, Euphrasius, Hesychius, Caecilius, and Ctesiphon are listed as first-century martyrs. "According to a tradition, which, however, is not very ancient, they were disciples of the Apostles, by whom they were sent to evangelize Spain. . . . Most of them suffered martyrdom."¹ St. James, St. Peter, and St. Mary² also have roles. There is a proportion of one female to nine male saints, and of three New Testament saints to seven historical ones--foggy though their history may be. Conversion occurs in Act I. Their behavior fits the period insofar as their efforts to evangelize Spain are concerned. And this effort is their principal purpose in the play.

Qualities of the Saints

In searching for saintly characteristics, we note that all seven are both sincere and logical in their search for a God superior

¹The Book of Saints--hereafter referred to as BkSts--pp. 579-580. It is assumed that Teodoro is Lope's equivalent to Ctesiphon.

²BkSts 313, 475, and 406, respectively. St. James is patron of Spain; St. Peter is venerated as founder of the universal church; St. Mary's patronages are too numerous to be given here.

to images of wood and stone. Once converted to Catholicism, all are obedient and submissive; in Act II, for example, when Segundo instructs them as to where to go to preach, Cecilio replies, "A cualquier parte me agrada adonde Cristo me envía." The devils list a number of objectionable qualities, none of which St. Segundo has: simony, greed, envy, and gluttony. A model ascetic, Segundo is temperate, he fasts, he gives to the poor, he is humble, and he is obviously continent. He calls himself least of the seven, and declares the Master's washing of the disciples' feet as his lesson. In teaching others, Segundo encourages abstinence, patience, charity, piety, respect for one another, and reading the Bible. He quotes Scripture on several occasions. He preaches against strife, envy, and malice. When on his last day Segundo feels bad, he decides to spend the day writing letters to those who need comfort and encouragement. We conclude that making time count is, for him, part of the good life.

No obstacle arises when we compare these saints to the definition of the term. It is interesting to note that when Erastro and the other pagans attempt to kill Segundo and Torcato, the two evangelists discreetly halt their efforts. They observe that this is not the best time, and, in order to be of further service, they flee.

Theology, Miracles, and Demonology

Doctrines presented, since the persons being taught know nothing about Christianity, are basic. The Trinity, the plan of salvation with the sacrifice of the Son, baptism, and the mediatorial

role of Sts. Mary and James are suggested. The good life is given considerable attention when Segundo teaches and preaches, as in his dying advice to his flock. Scripture is paraphrased on several occasions, and Segundo admonishes believers to study the sacred writings.

Attacks are made against the paganism of pre-Christian Spain and, to a lesser extent, against the Jews; but no mention is made of seventeenth-century heresies.

Miracles include the appearance of the Virgin with two angels to St. James; James' incapacitating the arm of Hermógenes, the magician, and casting three devils out of him; the affirmation of the statue of Diana that the God of heaven is the true God; the collapse of the bridge, called the eighth wonder of the world; the filling of the empty grain bin, with a suggestion that money also is supplied; the descent of St. James on a cloud, and Segundo's rising to meet him; the appearance of "una inspiración" in the form of an angel to tell Segundo of his approaching death; and the celestial music heard when the saint expires.

The power of demons is manifested in Hermógenes' trick with the mirror, the embellishment of Diana's statue with fire and a devil, the attempted seduction of Segundo by Satan in the form of woman, Astarot's interpolation of heresies into Segundo's letter, and considerable dialog among Lucifer, Satanás, Astarot, and la Idolatría.¹

¹That Lucifer and Satan are considered two individuals may be surprising.

The Play

The principal source of San Segundo was evidently Antonio de Cianca's Historia de San Segundo (1593).¹ There being little in the written account that would lend itself to the drama, Lope invented a substantial amount of the play. "Intercaló además, en este tejido, las principales tradiciones de nuestra Iglesia primitiva: predicación de Santiago, aparición del Pilar."²

Humor is virtually non-existent. The matter between Luparia and Vandalino, confined to two consecutive scenes, could hardly be considered a sub-plot. There is, indeed, little development of plot; it will be seen that many comedias de santos are a series of conversions, miracles, defeated devils, and saintly deaths, given unity only by the presence of the protagonist. In San Segundo, the long sermons detract somewhat from the movement of the play. The play on the name Segundo was inevitable, but it is thoroughly tiresome by the eleventh instance.³

San Segundo is discussed by Vossler in Lope de Vega y su tiempo⁴ and by Diego Marín in La intriga secundaria en el teatro de Lope de Vega.⁵

¹Appendix D.

²Menéndez y Pelayo, Acad. IV, p. cxi.

³Puns on names were prevalent in the seventeenth century. See S. G. Morley and R. W. Tyler, Los nombres de personajes en las comedias de Lope de Vega (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961).

⁴p. 350.

⁵Pp. 137-138.

Famosa comedia de la bienaventurada madre
Santa Teresa de Jesús, monja descalza
de Nuestra Señora del Carmen¹

First lines. Don Diego: Grandes fiestas se previenen.
 Don Ramiro: Pienso que serán de ver

Last lines. Valle: Y fin a la historia demos
 De nuestra gran fundadora.

CHARACTERS

Don Diego	Una abadesa
Don Ramiro	Un sacristán
Leonido, criado de don Diego	Don Juan, hermano de Santa Teresa
Floro, criado de don Ramiro	Un fraile ²
*Santa Teresa de Jesús	Luzbel, demonio
Don Alonso de Cepeda, su padre	Astarot, demonio
Lebrija, escudero	*San Miguel
El Amor Divino	*San Pablo
La Justicia	*San Pedro
Don Juan del Valle	Joseph (an angel?)
Doña Juana	El Niño Jesús
Petrona	

¹Acad. V, 471-503. Written between 1590 and 1604. In the list of characters, the saints are indicated by an asterisk.

²In the play, this friar is introduced as "Mariano, ermitaño." The characters listed after San Miguel are not in the original "cast" but do appear in the play.

Jornada primera

The play opens during the progress of a fiesta in sixteenth-century Avila. The many goings and comings enable don Diego (through his servant Leonido) and don Ramiro (through his servant Floro) to get notes to Teresa, whom they both admire. The young men detect each other, however, and are about to draw their swords when don Alonso, Teresa's father, appears and requests that they respect his age. After reading both notes, don Alonso manages to produce a kind of double-talk that leaves each suitor thinking he is the favored one. Alonso has the two gallants shake hands and promise not to have a duel; then he takes Teresa home.

Don Alonso and his escudero, Lebrija, make final plans for a dinner party. There will even be ice ("nieve") for the drinks. Petrona, another of the household servants, complains to Lebrija that some one in the kitchen has been teasing her, calling her lazy, shaved, careless, and old. She can bear it all except the reflection on her age. When Lebrija says that she is old, she counters by calling him "blacksmithface." There follow some crudities about pots, lids, and reputations.

Don Alonso commends Juana, his other daughter, for staying home rather than attending the festival and contests. Then, alone with Teresa, he protests the notes he found in her sleeves and their jeopardy for the family reputation. Teresa explains that the notes were given to her with the understanding that they were from her female cousins. Her father declares that he believes she

would do well to be married, and that he has chosen Ramiro for her husband. Teresa, however, has other plans: she intends to become a nun. Alonso, in sarcasm--and prognostication--says that he can see it all now: a convent of descalzas, Teresa's shining example, heaven opening to her, the fasts of her days and the prayerful transports of her nights, blood coming from her body even after burial, and great respect for her relics. After don Alonso leaves, having learned from Juana that the guests are arriving, Teresa declares that if she does decide to be married, it will be to Diego.

The two suitors, led by different servants, arrive almost simultaneously at Teresa's room. Again they have to be cajoled into dropping plans for a duel. Alonso reappears and sees the whole affair as another crisis of his own honor. They agree that for the moment they had better put up a front and join the guests for dancing. When Teresa's brother, Juan, announces his intention of dancing with his sister, she quips, "Una batalla es mejor." During the dance, she asks him to step outside with her for a moment; when he returns, it is to announce to the surprised group that Teresa has gone to the convent of the Incarnation.

In the convent, Teresa prays for guidance. She overhears an argument between the sacristan and Diego's servant; though it is ambiguous, she takes it as instruction from heaven. Alonso and the two suitors arrive, and demand that she make a choice. Her reply is that, in order to leave neither one jealous, she will choose God. Alonso tries briefly to dissuade her, but soon he and the young men commend her and leave. Petrona elects to stay with her mistress.

Jornada segunda

The second act opens as Teresa is told by an angel with a lance that her sufferings are a token of divine favor, which she will understand later. She submits willingly:

Heridme sin recelo,
seré herida cierva . . .¹

The abbess declares that she has no faith in Teresa's recovery, but Mariano, a hermit, expresses confidence in God's healing power. After Mariano leaves, Petrona asks the abbess who he was. The reply is, "A monk whose cloak scratches heaven." Petrona then wants to know why the pope isn't after him, if he is scratching heaven--and this misunderstanding is carried on for half a column. Then Petrona is left to watch the sick nun.

As Mariano prays for Teresa, he is answered by the sound of a trumpet from above, after which Justice, St. Michael with a set of scales, an angel, and a demon appear. The demon demands justice; Mariano keeps praying; Justice declares, "Mucho puede conmigo un hombre justo";² the angel pleads for mercy. Justice finally decides that Teresa will live. The demon then reveals the fiery chair he had waiting for her, and goes on to admit that he desires her death even if she is saved, because he dreads the great number of souls she will remove from his clutches. These supernatural personages

¹Acad. V, 481.

²Ibid., p. 483. Cf. Jas. 5:16: "The prayer of a righteous man availeth much."

disappear as Teresa comes to herself and the abbess enters to scold Petrona for falling asleep while sitting with a patient.

Later, Mariano and Teresa discuss her recovery. Elated, she has him read part of the document granting her permission to establish her order. It specifies that the descalzas must continue "guardando nuestra regla primera que en el monte Carmelo fundó el santo profeta Elías . . ."¹ When Teresa tells Mariano in confession about her visions, however, his enthusiasm wanes. Teresa claims to have seen Christ three times:

De Niño Jesus la una,
la otra puesto en la columna,
y la otra crucificado.²

a demon plants doubt and resistance in Mariano, and he decides that since the vision took so many forms it was of demonic rather than divine origin. Teresa promises henceforth to confront such manifestations with amulets and crosses. As soon as Mariano leaves, a Child Jesus appears, as if on an altar. Determined to obey her confessor, Teresa tries to leave; but St. Peter blocks one door and St. Paul the other. She then resorts to the amulets and crosses, but the Child expresses pleasure in them. Their dialogue becomes full of expressions of mystical devotion. After promising her that her order will soon be founded, the Holy Child gives her a diamond-set cross and He and the two apostles disappear.

Teresa's sister, Juana, enters with the abbess to bring the news that the building chosen for the convent is about to fall down.

¹Ibid., p. 483.

²Ibid.

Furthermore, Diego and Ramiro, who turned their attentions to Juana after Teresa became a nun, in their anger because Juana prefers Juan del Valle have stirred up among the city officials opposition to the idea of "mujeres mendicantes." Though Juana and the abbess hear nothing, Teresa hears encouraging words from heaven.

Astarot and Luzbel, demons, hasten to try to destroy the old building before Teresa can found her order. But Teresa, Juana, Petrona, and "ángeles en figuras de oficiales" are working diligently, and the devils, detecting divinity in their presence, flee. Working alone for a brief period, Juana is visited by Juan del Valle. They pledge their devotion to each other, and Teresa, joining them as she continues to work, indicates her approval. When Juana expresses her misgivings about the pay for the other workers, Juan del Valle offers 500 reales. But the workers reveal their divine identity and depart. Teresa points out that Christ always provides. Diego, who has overheard Juana and Juan, enters angrily; only at Teresa's urgent request is a duel avoided. Less willing than Juan to call it off, Diego finds he cannot use his sword arm.

Jornada tercera

The third act opens as Juan del Valle utters (in tercetos) a lyrical rapture about Salamanca. We learn that much time has passed when Teresa lists the seventeen convents and ten monasteries that she has founded. Del Valle asks her to pray for little Gonzalo, the son Juana has given him. Teresa suggests that they go to Alba, where the child and his mother are; it is only three leagues away. Petrona

grumbles about the penance she knows Teresa will do there, but looks forward to the good food. Teresa, trying to help Petrona with the packing, cuts herself severely. Del Valle binds up her injured finger.

Dressed as bandits, Diego and Leonido enter unobtrusively; Diego accuses Juan del Valle of insulting him and fires. Teresa's prayer, however, uttered as she sees what is happening, is answered; the projectiles are stopped by the blood Juan carries on his waistband from Teresa's cut finger. When he tries to speak of her saintliness, she will not permit him to finish. Diego interrupts to ask pardon and acceptance as a friend; he does not wish to oppose those for whom God works miracles. He proposes rather to be a friar from this day forward, so Teresa sends him to her first institution for descalzos, at Maqueda.

Teresa, Petrona, and Juan prepare to leave, Teresa looking forward to seeing her flock at Alba, Petrona providing comic relief as she mutters about long services, hairshirts, and the like.

Juana, with her brother, is weeping over Gonzalo, whom she holds dead in her arms. Her brother, in an effort to help her control herself, takes the child's body to another room. Teresa and Juan arrive;¹ and in a very human and touching scene, but one with dignity and restrained emotion, Juan del Valle guesses that his son is dead. Lebrija informs them that he is already cold, having been dead for three hours. Teresa, however, insists that it is a

¹The directions also include Petrona, but it will be seen that her entry comes later.

kind of faint, and asks that the child be brought in. She prays an almost demanding prayer, and the child revives. She again speaks of a faint, even though the child complains of having been brought back from his journey heavenward. Petrona, tired from her trip, now arrives. She has walked all the way, and she mentions her reputation as "Tragaleguas" and "la hermana Dromedaria." Teresa insists on leaving so that she can spend the night in her own establishment; but Petrona, thinking of the good food, accepts the invitation of Juan and Juana:

El discreto convidado
no se ha de hacer de rogar.
Digo que yo soy quedada.¹

Juan and Juana withdraw, leaving Petrona and Lebrija.

"Petronilla!" he begins. "Respect," she insists. If priests are addressed as "su paternidad," she thinks "su maternidad" would be fitting for her. Lebrija tells her that he has heard about her:

Figura de la piscina,
vicaria de la cocina
y escoba del refitorio.²

And he goes on to address her as "Urganda de la Escritura."

In contrast, Teresa is now seen carrying a cross. In a passage of lyric beauty beginning "La clara y blanca luna se obscurece," she expresses the despair of nature at the sight of the Crucifixion, the faith that she has in Christ's blood, and the joy she feels at being permitted to imitate Him even if it means bearing

¹Acad. V, 500.

²Ibid.

this cross. She prays for a Cyrenian. El Amor Divino appears, crown of thorns in hand. There is a substantial passage of mystical exchanges as Teresa and Amor Divino address each other as esposa and esposo. She tells Him she would be jealous of the cross if she thought He loved it more than her. He decides they will carry it together; and His identity as Christ is made clear by a reference to the thorns:

Las que en mí fueron espinas,
se vuelven rosas en ti.¹

Mariano and Fray Diego arrive, having learned that Teresa is sick. Petrona emerges weeping; she has sent for the doctor, and he will surely finish killing the poor sister. The two men are admitted, and find Teresa, attended by other nuns, lying with a crucifix in her hands. She asks pardon of all; they ask her benediction. With an expression of faith, she expires. Celestial music is heard, and Mariano and Diego see a white dove rise toward heaven. All smell a fragrant odor emanating from the body. Petrona laments that she has never had the use of her sense of smell, but suddenly crying "¡Milagro, milagro!" she announces that she, too, can enjoy the divine fragrance. The play ends as the townpeople demand to be admitted to contemplate "la santa madre."

¹Ibid., p. 501.

Observations

Identity of the Saints

Teresa Cepeda de Ahumada (1515-1582), born at Avila, is the only living saint in the play. She entered the Carmelite Order at eighteen. In 1562 she founded her first reformed convent, and from that year until her death she was always on the move, opening new houses, smoothing away difficulties for her nuns, and placating those in authority who opposed her. "All this while she was being favoured with remarkable mystical experiences, which she described, under obedience, in treatises which may be regarded as veritable text-books of mystical prayer and rank as classics of Spanish literature." She is further remembered for her sound common sense, sane good humor, and generous ideals. She was canonized in 1622.¹

Also appearing in the play, though briefly, are St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Michael.² The proportions are one woman to three men (if we count the archangel Michael). There are two New Testament apostles, one sixteenth-century Spanish founder, and one archangel. St. Paul and St. Peter are venerated as co-founders of the Christian church. St. Teresa is patroness of Spain. St. Michael is the patron of grocers, mariners, radiologists, and the sick.³

¹BkSts, p. 559.

²Ibid., pp. 475, 463, and 424, respectively.

³Wedge, pp. 58-62.

Qualities of the Saints

As in San Segundo, submissiveness is presented early as a characteristic of the saint. To the angel who foretells her sufferings, Teresa expresses complete willingness. She is obedient also to Mariano as her confessor; accepting him as God's representative, she is willing and even determined to obey him by resisting and challenging her visions.

Again as in San Segundo, humility is seen to be a quality of the saint. When, early in Act III, Juan del Valle tries to speak of Teresa's saintliness, she quickly changes the subject.

Faith is clearly a quality of St. Teresa, from the beginning of the play when she tells her sarcastic father, "Lo que dices burlando podrá Dios hacer de veras"¹ to the end, when she dies with an expression of faith on her lips.

It is also clear that St. Teresa does not object to hard work; in the preparation of the building to be used for the first convent of her order, she takes an active part.

There are at the same time several matters which might raise questions. In Act I we wonder whether Teresa really thought the notes were from her cousins; we note that she tells her father she will become a nun, then mutters that if she marries she will marry whom she chooses; and we question her motive when she declares that she has elected to become a nun in order that neither Diego nor

¹Acad. V, 475.

Ramiro might be consumed with jealousy. It should be borne in mind, however, that these glimpses of Teresa's character come before she embarks upon the religious life. A further question does arise in Act III, when she insistently prays for the restoration to life of the child Gonzalo, her prayer revealing that she knows he is dead; then when the child revives, she again calls it a faint. But perhaps she is merely seeking to de-emphasize her own share in the miracle.

Asceticism is clearly manifested as part of Teresa's nature. Even when she is near death, she leaves her sister's comfortable home to be instead with her nuns in their plain surroundings. Sufferings and deprivations she considers a privilege, for they mean imitation of Christ.

Theology, Miracles, and Demonology

Theological considerations presented in Santa Teresa are superficial and incidental. A suggestion as to the conflict between the powers of good and those of evil is found in Act II, when the devil and an angel plead for Teresa before the personification of Justice. The mystical nature of Teresa's relationship to God is underlined several times; In Act II, she addresses the Child Jesus as "husband" and directs to Him words of tender endearment, and toward the end of Act III Teresa and Christ exchange such pledges of mystical devotion as that about the thorns becoming roses (see above).

Teresa's mystical experiences are, indeed, difficult to separate from the miracles of the play. Early in Act II, an angel with a lance foretells the mystical sufferings of Teresa. The court scene, with Justice, St. Michael and the scales, an angel and the devil, has already been mentioned. A Niño Jesús appears to Teresa, and when she tries to leave, following the advice of her confessor, Sts. Peter and Paul block her way. Teresa hears celestial music while those around her do not. Angels, appearing as day laborers, bring divine approval of her work. Threatening Juan del Valle after Teresa has asked that there be no duel, Diego finds that he cannot use his sword arm. In Act III, Teresa's blood on Juan's clothing stops the bullet Diego fires at him. A major miracle occurs when, upon Teresa's prayer, the child Gonzalo is restored to life. In a scene of mystical import, Teresa is observed carrying a cross, and her prayer for assistance is answered by Amor Divino--who soon identifies himself as Christ. Three miracles occur at Teresa's death: a white dove rises toward heaven, a divine fragrance pervades the room, and Petrona's defunct olfactory sense is restored.

There are several appearances of demons in Santa Teresa. A devil argues before Justice for Teresa's life. Another deceives Mariano into questioning Teresa's visions. Astarot and another demon plot the destruction of the building in which Teresa plans to establish her first convent. Given this many demonic manifestations, it is rather unusual that there are none in Act III.

Santa Teresa contains no particular attacks on heresies, contemporary or ancient.

The Play

La bienaventurada madre Teresa de Jesús is one of the plays which Morley and Bruerton list among those of doubtful authenticity, but with the opinion that the burden of proof resides with the questioners. Spencer and Schevill describe¹ the manuscripts of plays on St. Teresa, and conclude that, though theorizing on the authorship is futile, Lope probably wrote a play on Santa Teresa. Part of Act II in what is evidently the oldest manuscript is in Lope's handwriting.

Unlike San Segundo, Santa Teresa is strongly characterized by humor. Petrona serves as a graciosa, a feminine equivalent of the lego bobalicón of other plays such as El Serafín humano. Petrona's complaints and observations are naturally interwoven throughout the play. At times they border on the crude, as shown in the summary of Act I (above). Her misunderstanding regarding the saint who "scratches heaven" (Act II) is thoroughly exploited for humorous effect. Her dialogue with Lebrija in Act III is a delightful scene, and it provides relief between the heavy matters of Gonzalo's resurrection and Teresa's death.

The love between Teresa's sister Juana and Juan del Valle runs as a mere thread through Acts II and III. It is scarcely well

¹Pp. 361-363.

enough developed to be considered a subplot. The action of the play is choppy, especially at first, when the entrances and exits are excessive, at least until the notes are finally passed to Teresa.

As mentioned above, the problem of the manuscripts of Santa Teresa is taken up by Spencer and Schevill.¹ Though little critical attention has been given to the play, we see that in it the author presents a fairly vivid picture of the female saint: a person dedicated but obedient, humble but miracle-working, practical but mystical--and always ascetic.

¹Pp. 361-363.

Comedia famosa, la gran columna fogosa
San Basilio Magno¹

Jornada primera

Set in the fourth century of the Christian era, the play opens with a dialogue between two hermits. Fausto praises St. Ephrem for his many holy qualities, and declares that there are a thousand disciples imitating him. Efrén insists that praise easily gets men off the road to glory, and that he is dust, weakness, a sepulcher. Fausto continues the flattery until Efrén makes it clear he has heard enough. Fausto then introduces an acquaintance who has come to pay his respects to the saintly Efrén; this person is in reality a devil. He kneels at Efrén's feet and more flattery begins, with quotations from the Bible. Efrén maintains:

Polvo soy, viento es mi vida;
Pecador soy, yo soy nada.¹

The devil leaves after admitting both his defeat and his identity. Fausto sees the error of his own ways, and the two hermits pray that he be shown, as a divine favor, a saint who prevails with God. Music is heard, a curtain is withdrawn to reveal a fiery pillar reaching from earth to sky, and a voice proclaims, "Such is Basil the divine." The two hermits resolve to visit him.

The emperor Valente (often addressed simply as "Caesar") discusses with those around him the progress of Arianism, complaining that popular favor is still with Basilio. Pretoriano asserts that Basilio is a great theologian, but pleased with his knowledge and blind in his opinions. Basilio enters to protest the taking of a

¹Acad. IV, 191.

church from the Christians (i.e., the orthodox Catholics). He suggests that the church be closed up, and given to whichever side secures entrance, in the royal presence, without the use of human hands. It is so agreed and all leave except Heraclio, a lego, who summarizes Basilio's struggle against Arianism and, in a strange mixture of doctrine, declares that Arrio has been burning ever since he stepped out of Charon's boat.

Heraclio's daughter, Lucila Antonia, is determined to enter a convent. Patricio, one of Heraclio's servants, laments the futility of his love for Antonia; he thinks of suicide, but finally resolves to lose himself in the wilderness, where perhaps his cries, which evidently have not reached heaven, will have some effect in hell.

At the church door, Posidonio's prayer on behalf of Valente and the Arians has no effect. Pretoriano, another Arian, suggests that they are tempting God when asking for a miracle for something they could do themselves; after all, He chose even not to make bread out of stones. Basilio proposes that there was no need to comply with Satan's request, and Heraclio adds that He did change the water into wine. As soon as Basilio prays, the doors swing open and within is seen an altar, complete with lighted candles. The Arians leave in a rage.

Arriving, with Fausto, just as Basilio and the orthodox believers enter the church, Bfrén is amazed that the "fiery pillar" is a man dressed in silk and adornment, attended by many. He meditates

on the contrast of his own solitude, fasts, hairshirts, and bird-like diet. A heavenly voice now declares to Efrén that he takes more pleasure in talking to a bird than Basilio does in all this pomp. A curtain opens to reveal Basilio reclining on a stone, with sackcloth, a scourge, a skull, and a cross. Efrén begs forgiveness for his hasty judgment.

In a lyrical outburst, full of classical allusions, Patricio solicits the help of a sorcerer in his quest for the hand of Antonia. The sorcerer, disdaining effigies and the like, writes a note and instructs Patricio to take it at midnight to a cemetery and, standing on a gentile's tomb, to shout for the devil. Patricio complies, and Satan responds. The devil gets the drift of the note, but complains that the hands, feet, and side of Him who died on the cross are so effective that too many escape their agreements. He makes Patricio swear and sign, and then calls Zaquiél, another demon, who will stir Antonia to a passion for Patricio.

Jornada segunda

Antonia describes her mixed emotions to Sabina, her maid, who ascribes everything to love. She points out that marriage is honorable, that it was instituted by God in Eden, that it was blessed again at the time of the flood, and that the union of Christ with His church is symbolized by marriage. Satan and Patricio enter at one side, Patricio complaining all the while that things are moving too slowly. When Antonia names Patricio, Sabina again encourages her to marry. Satan

comments that he hasn't a better helper in all of hell.¹ Though Antonia faints when Patricio first presents himself, she revives to pledge her love to him. Sabina tells Satan to go home, and admits, in answer to Patricio's question, that she knows him and his home well.

Still expecting Antonia to enter a convent, Heraclio is staggered when she declares that his wishes are killing her. Emerencio, Heraclio's old friend, observes that the signs indicate she is in love. Sabina points out that thousands of saints were married. Patricio hints that the cause for Antonia's anxiety may be that she is in love with a man of different social station. An angry Heraclio, following Emerencio's advice, assembles the household staff and feels Antonia's pulse as each one speaks to her. At Heraclio's instructions, they try to make entertaining remarks to Antonia, such as "I bring forty galleys from the Transylvanian prince." Protesting that he is unworthy, Patricio tries to avoid the test; but Heraclio exclaims that the truth could be no plainer if Antonia's pulse could speak. Patricio, threatened by Heraclio, starts to flee, but Sabina promises to help him. Antonia flies into a frenzy, railing at the old men for not allowing her to love Patricio. Emerencio suggests that Basilio be summoned, but Antonia declares she will not see him. The scene closes as Antonia swears she will marry Patricio and Heraclio promises she will marry her equal.

¹Zaquiél, a demon, is working through Sabina.

Efrén asks Basilio's pardon for his first impression, adding that he understands now that the pomp fits the bishop's standing in the city. Basilio replies that he longs for solitude. Fausto enters to announce the arrival of a letter from Heraclio. Satan is behind him, complaining that he is about to lose Patricio's soul. Preferring the conversation with Efrén, Basilio lays the letter aside. The arrival of a Jew is announced; Basilio explains that he has been studying with the man, and that he has accepted the incarnation and the resurrection, but does not understand the mystery of the mass. Exhorting him to have faith, Basilio takes the Hebrew to observe a mass. Fausto, left alone, yields to Satan's promptings; he reads the letter and then tears it up to cover his guilt.

Heraclio wonders what to do. Emerencio, learning that Patricio will probably kill himself and Antonia is tearing her face and hair, suggests to Heraclio that he be glad the situation is not such that they have to get married, and that it would be better to stop all this misery. Heraclio agrees, and promises his daughter to Patricio. Elated, Patricio asserts that he would sign forty more documents if the devil had them.

Jornada tercera

Efrén, Fausto, and Heraclio witness the mass offered by Basilio for the benefit of the Hebrew, who is kneeling attentively. An Infant Christ is part of the scene, and a voice from above proclaims that Basilio is favored of heaven.

Patricio wonders whether Heraclio will ever accept him. He and Antonia wish for a child; a grandson for Heraclio might serve as an interceding angel. Patricio does not wish to discuss the miracle at the altar during Basilio's mass, and he refuses to go with Antonia to the church. Fulbino, a servant, admits to Antonia that rumors are that Patricio is not a Christian. Antonia has Patricio sent for and surprises him with a crucifix which she draws suddenly from a case. He confesses the whole story of his pact with the devil. Antonia assures him that pardon is still possible; given this hope, Patricio pours out a veritable psalm of contrition.

Efrén and Fausto take leave of Basilio, who blesses them both. When Efrén asks Basilio to pray for them, Basilio, with his customary humility replies:

Yo lo haré, mi padre, así
aunque indigno y pecador.¹

Antonia tells Basilio of Patricio's plight. Basilio examines Patricio to be sure about the circumstances and of his repentance; then he takes him away to pray.

The Jewish man talks to his wife and child about the mass he witnessed the day before. In an exposition resembling that of an auto sacramental, he describes the power of the Messianic prophecies, the humility of the priest, the dignity of the ritual, and his conviction that God does come down at the priest's call; after all, he

¹Acad. IV, 218.

saw the bread transformed into the Holy Child. The wife and child join the Hebrew in accepting the Catholic faith.

Patricio, dressed as a penitent, prays. Amid a clanking of chains, Satan and another demon appear and assure him that his case is hopeless. They are about to kill him when Basilio comes to his aid. The devils next appear in another part of the stage, pact in hand. Basilio enters again, and again they flee. The third time Basilio comes in, he learns that Patricio is hearing voices only. In view of this progress, he decides it is time to try to obtain the document. Heraclio, Antonia, and the servants all kneel with Basilio and Patricio as the bishop prays for the return of a lost sheep. Satan argues that he has kept his part of the bargain. Patricio cries for help from Basilio, his angel, and Mary. Basilio commands:

¡Traidor, deja el hombre! Luego
traed la cédula aquí.¹

For no visible reason other than this command, Satan yields the pact and departs in a rage. Antonia and Heraclio express relief and love for Patricio, and all make remarks of thanksgiving.

Basilio prays with Layda, "una mujer pecadora," that her sins, which are listed in a sealed letter, be removed. But when she opens the letter, one sin remains. She asks Basilio to pray again, but he objects that he, too, is a sinner, and instructs her to find Efrén in the wilderness. Efrén and Fausto, having just been threatened by

¹Ibid., p. 224.

the devil, at first take Layda for a demon. Learning her story, Bfrén declares that if God pardoned one sin through Basilio, He can pardon them all. And he sends her back to the bishop.

Heraclio, Patricio, and Antonia pour out their grief at the loss of their shepherd, the "gran columna fogosa de la fe, luz de la Iglesia."¹ Layda arrives just in time to behold the saint on his bier, his crosier and a chalice in his hands. In grief and despair she cries out for him to take the letter with the unforgiven sin. The saint's arm reaches for the letter, then holds it out expectantly. It is found to be blank, the sin erased. The play ends amid expressions of thanksgiving and of admiration for the dead saint.

Observations

Identity of the Saints

Basil the Great (329-379) was born at Caesarea in Cappadocia. He studied at Constantinople and Athens. After visiting the monastic colonies of Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, he founded one himself on the river Iris, in Pontus, his rules remaining the standard work of its kind in the East. In 370 he was made metropolitan of Caesarea, and he entered at once upon his battle for orthodoxy against the Arians and the Macedonians. Although these groups were supported by the imperial authorities, Basil saved Cappadocia for the Catholic faith.²

¹Ibid., p. 227.

²BkSts, pp. 90-91.

St. Basil's work on the Holy Ghost is still "unsurpassed in Catholic theology."¹ He edited the Eucharistic Liturgy which bears his name. In the East he is the first of the three Holy Hierarchs, in the West one of the four Greek doctors. His parents, paternal grandparents, two brothers, and sister are all honored as saints.²

St. Ephrem the Syrian (c. 300-c. 379) was a native of Nisibis in Mesopotamia. He became a monk near Edessa, and there spent most of his life writing commentaries on the Bible and composing hymns. He wrote the hymns in Syriac to help the people keep free of Arianism. "He excelled in his Mariological hymns, which are an important contribution to Catholic dogma."³ Revered in both the East and the West, St. Ephrem was declared a doctor of the Church in 1920.⁴

There are no other saints in the play. There is, then, a proportion of two males to no females; two historical saints of the Christian era to none of Biblical or fictional background. Both are doctors of the Church; St. Basil is also considered a founder.

Qualities of the Saints

Saintly characteristics are detailed at the very beginning of La gran columna fogosa, when Fausto praises St. Ephrem for his holy life, abstinence, rare preaching, tears, prayers, fasting, penitence, and living as if he were outside mortal flesh. The saintly Ephrem, on the other hand, objects to all this praise as a danger to one

¹Ibid., p. 91.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 203.

⁴Ibid.

bound for heaven, and maintains that he is dust, weakness, a tomb, a sinner, nothing. We can hardly blame Ephrem for questioning the pomp of Basil's vestments and retinue; and his request for forgiveness from both God and Basil for his hasty judgment reflects the humility made clear to the audience from the first scene.

Faith is prominent as a characteristic of St. Basil. His faith enables him to propose and execute the test of the church doors; his brief prayer, a sonnet, causes the doors to swing open in divine approval of the orthodox belief. "You must have faith," he admonishes the Jewish convert, whom he, as a good evangelist, has taught the fundamentals of Christian doctrine.

Like Ephrem, Basil is humble. He considers himself "indigno y pecador." The two saints are also alike in their admiration for the ascetic life. Ephrem lives amid hairshirts, fasts, and extremes of temperature; and Basilio, though his position as bishop prevents his doing so, expresses his longing to live in solitude and simplicity.

Basil's practical sense merits commendation. When the Hebrew does not understand the mass, Basil offers one for him to observe; and when Patricio's plight is described to the saint, he examines the young man to be certain of his repentance. In the controversy over the church edifice, Basil, like Elijah, proposes a test. We conclude that he would not have taken kindly to abstract scholastic debates.

Theology, Miracles, and Demonology

Religious doctrines taken up in La gran columna fogosa are relatively few. Other than the doctrinal pronouncement in Act III

when Basilio declares, "No se fuerza el albedrío," the only points of theology presented in any depth are the matters of transubstantiation and the pact with the devil.

Little is said by Basilio about the Eucharist. The real exposition comes when the Jewish convert teaches his wife and child. He describes how he witnessed the change of the bread into the Holy Child, and how Basilio

Partióle, como si fuera
la hostia, y con tiernas ansias
de amor, desde la patena
le trasladó a las entrañas.
Comióse el Infante vivo. . . .¹

The pact with the devil is the main thread of the play, both in the theology and in the plot of the drama. From St. Basil and from Antonia we learn that one can repent of a complete denial of divine providence. When Patricio wails that he has denied Christ a thousand times, Antonia replies:

Calla, que otros le negaron,
y llorando arrepentidos,
fueron de Dios perdonados. . . .²

And Basilio's only hesitancy seems to reside in his wishing to be certain that Patricio has genuinely repented.

The efficacy of prayer is underlined several times by Basil and Ephrem, who even ask for the prayers of each other. The doctrines

¹Acad. IV, 221. This is a doctrine which grates on the ears of many Protestants, who see in baptism a symbol of Christ's burial and resurrection; in marriage, a symbol of His union with His church; and in the bread and wine, symbols of His torn flesh and shed blood.

²Acad. IV, 217.

of the incarnation and the resurrection are mentioned only in passing. Arianism is attacked, but not with any argumentation.¹ No heresies of seventeenth-century Europe are mentioned. Marriage is defended--but by a devil-possessed maid--as of divine origin and reapproved in the time of Noah.

Miracles in La gran columna fogosa include the vision of the fiery column given to Ephrem and Fausto; the opening of the church doors, and the lighted candle within, in answer to Basil's prayer; the heavenly voice which explains Basil's pomp to Ephrem, and the vision of Basil in sackcloth and solitude; the presence of a Child Jesus at the altar during mass, with the declaration by a supernatural voice that Basil is favored by heaven; and the surprising response of the dead Basil to Layda's plea for help and the disappearance of her sin from the document when Basil takes it.

Demonic manifestations are numerous. In Act I, a devil speaks through Fausto and, quoting Old and New Testament scripture, tries to turn Ephrem's head with flattery. Also in Act I, Patricio, following the instructions of a necromancer, succeeds in talking with Satan and signing a pact with him. In Act II, Sabina reveals that the demon Zaquiel, so instructed by Satan, is speaking through her. Satan successfully tempts Fausto to read Basilio's letter, and he appears to Patricio in order to talk with him about his pursuit of Antonia. In Act III demons, complete with clanking chains,

¹The Arians held that Christ did not pre-exist with and is not co-substantial with the Father.

threaten and injure the penitent Patricio, and Satan himself argues the case against Basilio. Defeated, Satan threatens St. Ephrem with vengeance.

The Play

The similarity of the story of Patricio and Antonia to that of Faust and Marguerite is great. Waxman sees in this apocryphal legend, first connected with St. Basil in Voragine's Legenda Aurea, what may be the first combination of the Cyprian and Theophilus legends.¹

The pact-with-the-devil story, portrayed later by Calderón in El mágico prodigioso, overshadows the story of St. Basil. Lope fails in his effort to keep Basil before the audience after once beginning the story of the lovers, subplot though it may be. Act I ends with dramatic suspense; we wonder what will happen to Patricio's soul and whether he and Antonia will be married. Heraclio's approval of the marriage during Act II, however, sends us into Act III without much suspense, for the outcome of the matter of the pact is by now not hard to guess. A nice touch of dramatic instinct is to be found in the scene where Heraclio takes his daughter's pulse as she interviews the servants; this was a clever device which probably delighted the audience.

¹Waxman, 371-372. The present writer sees the Theophilus idea, the quest for office and honor, as purely coincidental, the Faust-like carnal love being Patricio's main motivation.

Development and continuity in La gran columna fogosa are almost entirely owing to the subplot, the story of the lovers. Otherwise, there would be a succession of scenes taken from the life of St. Basil, covering a span too long to be effective.

Humor is virtually non-existent in the play, except at the end of Act II where Pulbino, a servant, wonders why Antonia chose Patricio instead of him. In this enigmatic lack of humor, the play is comparable to San Segundo.

La gran columna fogosa is studied briefly by Vossler¹ and Waxman.²

¹Lope de Vega y su tiempo, p. 353.

²Pp. 371-372.

Comedia famosa de Los locos por el cielo¹

First lines.	Maximiano:	¿Caso, por los dioses, fiero?
	Patricio:	Esto pasa, así reposos
Last lines.	Atilio:	Aquí, senado cristiano, da fin <u>Los locos del cielo.</u>

CHARACTERS²

Maximiano, emperador	Fabio, pastor
Patricio, capitán	*San Cirilo, obispo
*Doroteo, mayordomo	Agapito, diácono
Teofilato, capitán	Licinio
Un page y una voz	Atilio
*Dona, sacerdotisa	Dos músicos
Dos ángeles	Evaristo
*Yndes, caballero	Camilo
*Agapes, dama	Antonio, obispo
Camiliaco	*Teófila, monja
Lauremia	*Guilicerio, ³ sacerdote
Fulvio	Andrónico
Toribio	Albiniano
Un Atambor	Erifilio ⁴

¹Acad. IV, 83-118. Written before 1604.

²Saints are indicated by asterisks.

³"Glicerio" in the play.

⁴"Erífilo" in the play.

Terencio

Dos soldados

Silvio

Cuatro pescadores

Lucila

*Antimo, obispo

Acto primero

Set in Nicomedia in the first years of the fourth century, Los locos por el cielo opens as the emperor Maximiano complains to Doroteo, his majordomo, about the spread of Christianity. Doroteo outlines the matter of papal succession, and suggests that the present bishop, Cirilo, be destroyed: " . . . En cortando una cabeza sosegarás los demás, . . . porque matando el pastor, esparcirás las ovejas." Teofilato, a captain, enters to describe his military difficulties, which they blame on Jupiter's displeasure with them for tolerating the Christians. Maximiano sends for Dona, the priestess, to make appeasement to the gods. Doroteo speaks of his love for her. She inquires of Apollo the reason for the Africans' military success over the Romans, and a voice replies, "Cristo vive." Alone, Dona wonders whether Christ, since His life angers her god, and since He lives in spite of having died, is not the true God. She becomes tired and falls asleep, whereupon an angel descends with the epistles of St. Paul and tells her to read them. She is expressing her willingness to seek Christ through Paul when Indes enters. He outlines the mission of Christ and the works and miracles attributed to Him. Dona and Indes pledge their love for each other. But, perceiving a detachment about her, and later seeing her leave with

Agapes, who has promised to instruct Dona in Christianity, Indes thinks he has a rival.

Bishop Cirilo and Agapito, a deacon, are discussing the mysterious disappearance from the latter's table of Paul's epistles when Agapes arrives to present the new convert, Dona. Indes, watching the two couples enter a doorway, makes the wrong conclusion; but when he rushes in to avenge his honor he is so touched by the scene of Dona's baptism--there is even "una paloma en un resplandor sobre su cabeza"--that he immediately declares his wish to become a Christian.

Elsewhere, Doroteo tells Atilio of his order from the emperor to leave no Christian free in Nicomedia. Licinio denounces Dona, Agapes, and Indes as Christians. Dona and Indes, after pledging to be wed in spirit only, are discovered worshiping before an altar with cross and candles, all of which miraculously disappear when Doroteo draws his sword. Furious, he orders that Indes and Dona are to be imprisoned for three days without food. When, later, he and Licinio return, they observe that Indes and Dona are being fed by two angels, while others sing.

Acto segundo

Doroteo's love for Dona has led him to free her. Dona describes Indes' suggestion that they pretend to have been given poisoned food and to have lost their reason as a result. Thus they will be able to leave the palace. Doroteo and Licinio, listening

to the two converts talk about such mysteries as that of the Trinity, are easily convinced that they are insane. They go for help to tie them up. When they return Indes strikes one of them.

Camilo brings news that Cirilo is dead and that Antonio has been chosen bishop. Antonio is brought to the palace; Doroteo hopes that the new bishop can cure Dona and Indes of their insanity. Antonio takes them away for treatment.

Horacio brings news of a military victory. Maximiano boasts that Nicomedia will soon have its soil stained with the blood of Christians, and that only Jupiter is god. Suddenly there is lightning, with a downpour of rain and hail. A voice from above declares, "Solo es Dios Cristo y Señor de cielo y tierra, romanos." Doroteo blames it all on Christian sorcery.

Antonio takes Dona to Teófila, an abbess, for further instruction. Maximiano is told that all the Christians in town are blaming his blasphemy for the storm. The emperor becomes furious when he learns that Dona has become a Christian. He orders her brought to the palace, and sets out meanwhile to destroy a Christian chapel. Glicerio, praying there, amazes the emperor by calling him an idolater and a tyrant. The saint is forthwith burned at the stake.

Teófila's house is ransacked and burned, but Dona escapes. An angel promises protection to Teófila; and when Camilo tries to force his attentions on her, he is struck blind.

Doroteo, unable to find Dona, drags Indes back to the palace. He is shown Glicerio at the stake, commending his soul to God. Suddenly Indes sees the heavens open; Doroteo, seeing it also, shouts, "¡Cristo vive! ¡Cristo vive!" The emperor orders them both burned.

Acto tercero

Andrónico, Terencio, and Albiniano discuss the mass persecution of the Christians and prepare to attend an auto, "el acto célebre, la Majestad de Dios en carne humana . . ." The church is considered safe, though an attendance of 20,000 Christians is expected. Silvio, dressed as "Amor," gives a loa containing more than a dozen references to Old Testament prophecies concerning the Messiah. The action of the little play within the play begins as Joseph and Mary request lodging in Bethlehem. On being told there is not room, Joseph bursts out, "¡Ay, Virgen!" Angelic music and instructions send shepherds to Bethlehem. At this point the performance is interrupted by Maximiano and his troops, who try to break down the door and threaten to set fire to the place. When some of the audience express fear, Erífilo steps out of his role as Joseph and exhorts them to follow their Master in the path of self-sacrifice. Dona, however, again flees, explaining that so Bishop Antimo had instructed her. When she finds Antimo, he sends her, in men's clothing, with a letter of encouragement for Doroteo and Indes, who are in prison. Maximiano comes to the prison; he comments on how much the young man looks like Dona, and orders that Indes, Doroteo,

and Antimo be thrown into the sea and drowned. The three martyrs are pulled out by four fishermen, who are able to haul in their net only after Dona happens along and invokes the name of Christ. She commits the bodies to the care of several Christian seamen, and then wonders with what death she may glorify her Master. Camilo and Atilio arrive and, taking her for a boy taunting them with the name of Christ, pin her with a lance to a nearby cross. She reveals her identity before commending herself to Christ, and the stunned men resolve to take her, cross and all, to the emperor.

Observations

Identity of the Saints

Sts. Indes, Donna, Agapes, and Theophila died as martyrs under Diocletian in Nicomedia, in the year 303.¹ St. Cyril, patriarch and bishop, suffered in the persecution of Diocletian but evidently died in peace about 300.² St. Glycerius was a priest of Nicomedia who was burned at the stake in 303.³ St. Anthimus was bishop of Nicomedia, where, under Diocletian in 303, he was beheaded for his faith.⁴ St. Dorotheus was an official of Diocletian's body-guard. His martyrdom was recorded by a contemporary, Eusebius of Caesarea.⁵

The eight saints of Los locos por el cielo are historical. Seven of them were martyrs at Nicomedia, the ancient capital of

¹BkSts, p. 305.

²Ibid., p. 163.

³Ibid., p. 269.

⁴Ibid., p. 58.

⁵Ibid., p. 183.

Bythinia, today Ismid, near Istanbul. Three of the saints in this play--Domna, Agapes, and Theophila--are women. Four of the eight are converted during the play: Agapes, Dona, and Indes in Act I, and Doroteo in Act II. These conversions, and the caution and courage called for by the persecutions, give an impression that the behavior of the saints in this play depends considerably on the period in which it was set.

Qualities of the Saints

Los locos por el cielo moves so quickly from scene to scene that little opportunity is afforded for becoming well acquainted with any of the eight saints in the play. It has been noted that Dona is receptive to truth, willing to seek and follow the true God. She is obedient to those older in the faith, particularly Teófila and Antimo. With Indes, she submits meekly to imprisonment. Though she flees danger under instruction from Antimo, she is at the end of the play entirely willing to become a martyr. But Dona disappoints us in Act III when, on the way to and at the prison with the letter from Antimo, she has no compunctions about lying to protect herself.

Indes and Dona wish to live in celibacy, even though married. Indes, Doroteo, and Antimo are, at the end of Act III, submissive martyrs. On the negative side, Indes strikes Camilo in Act II, merely to help convey the impression of his and Dona's insanity--which is, after all, a deception. The violence is hardly in keeping with the pattern of Christ nor the lesson Peter learned.

Glicerio is bold (would some say foolhardy?) in calling the emperor a tyrant and an idolater. He dies at the stake, glorifying God.

Doroteo, witnessing Glicerio's martyrdom, is bold about his new faith, proclaiming, "¡Cristo vive! ¡Cristo vive!" and soon becoming a martyr as a result.

Brífilo courageously steps out of the auto in Act III to exhort the congregation of Christians to follow the path of self-sacrifice opened by their Master.

Taking the meek, submissive, spirit of the martyrs in this play as a manifestation of humility, we conclude that humility and courage are the main characteristics of the saints in Los locos por el cielo.

Theology, Miracles, and Demonology

Act I takes up the matter of papal succession, scriptural admonitions regarding baptism, and a bare outline of the mission and sacrifice of Christ. Indes and Dona take a vow of chastity, though this was not a requirement at the time, even for the priesthood. There are occasional maxims such as "Los soldados de Cristo no suelen volver atrás"¹ and "No hay peligro que sujete . . . a quien Dios guía."² The one idea which is emphasized and repeated is the medieval notion that death is the beginning of life eternal. "La vida en esta muerte espero,"³ say the saints as they approach death.

¹Acad. IV, 114.

²Ibid., p. 112.

³Ibid., p. 111.

There are no attacks on heresies, other than the general and often indirect condemnation of Roman paganism.

Miracles in Act I include the transfer, by an angel, of Paul's epistles from Agapito's table to Dona's room; the dove and radiance about Dona's head when she is baptized; the disappearance, when Doroteo draws his sword, of the altar, candles, and cross where Indes and Dona are worshiping; and the table prepared by angels for Indes and Dona when they are locked up to spend three days without food. In Act II, when the emperor boasts and declares that Jupiter is god, a violent storm arises suddenly, and a heavenly voice announces that Christ is Lord of heaven and earth. An angel promises protection to Teófila, and when Camilo tries to attack her, he is struck blind. Glicerio, burning at the stake, sees heaven open above him; Doroteo, witnessing this miracle, is converted. In Act III, Dona's invoking the name of Christ enables the fishermen to pull in their heavy net; and when she laments the death of the martyrs found in it, an angel assures her that they are in glory.

There are no manifestations of demons in Los locos por el cielo.

The Play

Los locos por el cielo was probably taken from the section of the Villegas Flos sanctorum entitled "Vida de San Indes y Dona, con los veinte mil mártires de Nicomedia." The play was written before 1604. Its action seems ponderous, in spite of numerous changes of

scene and the novelty of a play within the play.¹ The plot seems almost without method. The love of Indes and Dona does not assume the proportions of a subplot. Humor is absent. The language is typical of the early seventeenth-century drama. We might chide Lope for the exclamations in the play within the play; Joseph's outbursts of "¡Ay, Virgen!" and "¡Virgen María!" seem out of place. The lack of restraint and heavy adornment of Dona's quintillas when she sees Indes in prison² are also somewhat distressing.

The play is contrasted briefly with El mágico prodigioso by Valbuena Prat in his edition of Calderón's Comedias religiosas.³

¹This device was later used to better effect in Lo fingido verdadero.

²Acad. IV, 114, beginning "Ave inocente enjaulada."

³(Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1930), pp. 55-56.

El niño inocente de La Guardia, comedia famosa¹

First lines.	Isabel:	¿Qué hace el rey mi señor?
	Iñigo:	Con el padre fray Tomás
Last lines.	Entendimiento:	el martirio del cristiano e inocente de La Guardia.

CHARACTERS²

Reina doña Isabel	Rosella, su mujer
Rey don Fernando	Pasamontes y *Juanico, su hijo
Don Iñigo de Mendoza	Bias y Turón, porquerizos
Doña Juana, dama	Un maestro
Francisco y Ocaña, indios	Unos muchachos
Hernando y Quintanar	Benito
Pedro de La Guardia	Un ángel ³
*Santo Domingo	Un molinero y su mujer
Benito García	La Razón y el Entendimiento
Rabino, Jacob, hebreo	Los músicos
Bernardo, francés	*El Niño Inocente ⁴

Acto primero

In conversation with Queen Isabel, Iñigo de Mendoza urges "la extirpación de los herejes, que son basiliscos de su pie." The queen

¹Aguilar III, 383-413. Probably written between 1604 and 1606.

²The saints are marked by asterisks.

³One or two additional angels also appear.

⁴"El Niño Inocente" and "Juanico" (already listed) are the same person.

agrees, saying "Espero . . . que crezca por toda España el yugo de nuestra fe sin esta infame cizaña." After the departure of Mendoza, the queen tells Juana of her intention to pray alone. She becomes drowsy, and finally resists sleep no longer. Santo Domingo now appears with a willow and his insignias, a dog and an axe. He reminds the queen that he is of her lineage, commends her and Fernando for reviving the Inquisition, prophesies the future greatness of Spain, mentioning especially the pressure to be exerted by Charles V against Luther, and instructs her to exile the Jews from the land. Isabel calls her husband immediately upon awakening. Fernando greets the queen with the news that the Inquisition is formally established. When she asks that he take steps to remove the blot of the unbelieving Jews, he reminds her of the serpent whose ugly head, when cut off, was replaced by seven others. But he admits that he also has dreamed about the problem of the Jews, and agrees with Isabel to plan their expulsion.

The edict, when published, is lamented by Benito García, Hernando, and Francisco, Hebrews. Blaming the Dominicans, they plot their revenge: Benito, who knows a rabbi in France with the kind of sorcery for just such an occasion, will leave at once. Pedro and some singers arrive, and render a Psalm. Quintanar, arriving still later, describes the sadness of aged Jews walking toward the borders of Spain.

Pasamonte asks Juanico, on the way to school, whether he said his prayers that morning. The boy replies that he said all four of

them. He is reading from the life of Sts. Justo and Pastor, the very book he asked for. When Pasamonte remarks that he will tell the teacher not to spank him, Juanico answers that if he deserves punishment, he should have it, and that lashes will help him learn. At the school, the teacher is delighted at how well the boy can read. But he reminds him several times that he must not fail to bring his money next time.

Benito expresses to the French rabbi his amazement over the formula; where will they find a Christian heart and the bread from a Christian altar? Reminding Benito of the siege of Jerusalem, the rabbi suggests that there must be some poor family willing to sacrifice a child, if enough money is offered. The Jews call on Bernardo, who has ten children. He refuses to entertain the idea; but his wife, having heard the proposal, suggests after the callers have left that they prepare Clemente to appear dead, and place a pig's heart near him. Bernardo arranges the purchase of a pig from Blas and Turón, swineherds.

The conversation between the rabbi and Jacob as they plan to bribe an old woman to bring bread from an altar reveals that they have learned of Bernardo's reconsideration.

Rosela and Bernardo finish their deed; Clemente's appearance is thought to be sufficiently gruesome. When the rabbi, Jacob, and Benito arrive, Rosela and Bernardo behave with emotion. The visitors, beholding the bloody sight but briefly, comfort the couple by observing that the sum of 1,500 ducados "no es mal dinero."

Acto segundo

Four of the Jews, Hernando, Benito, Francisco, and Quintanar, describe the piece of sorcery as it worked out. Benito tells how the French couple deceived them with the heart of a pig, and when the formula was put in the river, herds of swine that drank from it turned on each other with fury. They are sorry that it was not a human heart; the effect would have been just what they wanted. Quintanar declares that in order to avoid further deception, they will have to steal a child. He and Benito will go to Toledo, kidnap a child, and bring him to La Guardia. Hernando and Francisco, left to discuss the plan, decide that it would be great sport to treat the boy as Christ was treated.

Juana Guindera, Pasamontes, and their son, Juanico, are watching the procession honoring the Assumption. Juanico declares that he wishes he were one of the angels. When the giants pass, the boy becomes excited and runs along with the procession. The parents, talking and bringing to the audience something of the color and effect of the parade, do not miss him at first; when they do, they pray to the Virgin of Sagrario, reminding her of how she felt the day Jesus was lost in Jerusalem. A blind woman, praying for them, describes the experience of that day in Jerusalem--how it was the Passover, the fourteenth of the first month; how the boy was lost, but not really lost, for He was in His own house. Pasamontes and his wife express resignation; says he, "Lo que Dios quiere, eso adoro. Vámonos; dejad el lloro."

Benito tells Juanico that he is the boy's uncle, and that Juanico has permission to accompany him and Quintanar to their home, where there is a little horse, and much fruit and candy. In spite of these enticements, Juanico insists on being reassured that his parents have given their permission.

The four Jews decide that Francisco will keep Juanico at his home until the Passover, the date on which Christ was slain. They agree that "Juan" will not do as a name; they do not want to kill John the Baptist, but Jesus. No nation, unless it is theirs, holds anything against John. Benito suggests "Cristóbal," which means "hombre que a Cristo trae consigo." They turn to the boy and call "Cristóbal," and he replies, repeatedly. When they try other names, he ignores them. When the boy remarks that he is not from that place but from Toledo, Francisco observes that Christ said His kingdom was not of this world.

Queen Isabel sends her doctor to Zamora to care for the king's eyes. The doctor mentions that another patient of his has had eye trouble--a woman blind from weeping over her lost son. Isabel asserts that she would also go to Ferdinand except that she must remain to witness an auto de fe; the king, she says, defends the kingdom while she defends the faith.

Herrera and his wife María discuss the harsh treatment often given a boy nearby. María declares that the boy is a jewel and does not deserve such treatment. Juanico runs in, asking for protection. Francisco soon enters in search of the boy, explaining to Herrera and

his wife that the lad has seemed devil-possessed ever since he adopted him; he has even been so bold as to declare that he can destroy the temple and rebuild it by the third day. María tells Francisco that the boy is not there. After Francisco has left, Herrera proposes that something is wrong; Christ referred not to the edifice but to His body. They decide to take Juanico to Francisco's wife, in the hope that she can calm her husband's fury. Juanico begs to stay; but when Herrera asks whether Francisco mistreats him, he replies, "Debo de darle ocasión," and expresses faith that God will show him why he is suffering this anguish.

Acto tercero

Hernando, Benito, Pedro, Quintanar, and Francisco¹ plan their cruel deed, for the fourteenth has arrived. Juan de Ocaña has the boy in a cave, where the thing can be done in safety. Parts are given out: Hernando will play Pilate; Quintanar, Annas; the tumult of the mob will be added by the others. First, Juanico and Ocaña imitate the songs of Palm Sunday. Benito next asks the boy to climb among some rocks, pretend they are a garden, and pray there. Ocaña takes the part of Judas. Juanico prays that God will give him wisdom beyond his years, so that he might be able to sense the afflictions of Christ as he goes through this experience. An angel appears to inform him that his prayer is answered; though only ten, he will react

¹Francisco is not listed among those who enter for this scene; nevertheless, he speaks.

as though he were thirty-three. Before beginning to scourge the boy, the group makes sure that the cave is closed. Benito hesitates to take the role of the Roman soldier; he is not eager to lose an ear. "Pilate" declares he finds no fault in the prisoner. "Take him away like a mute lamb,"¹ orders Francisco. Continuing to beat the boy, the others comment on his saintly patience and endurance, for he says not a word. Much of the brutality apparently goes on in darkness or offstage; but now a curtain is opened to reveal a bruised boy between two angels. Juanico says that he has received 5,000 lashes but has felt only three. An angel explains that he has had three lashes more than Christ, and those are the three he felt. Juanico declares he considers himself fortunate to have had more lashes, and wishes he could have felt them all. When the angel warns Juanico of his approaching death, his only question is whether his heart will be used for evil. The negative answer of the angel satisfies him. Now the cruel men notice a radiance about Juanico's countenance. The next time Juanico is seen, he is wearing a crown of thorns. "Crucify him! Crucify him!" shout the men. Pedro, observing that the boy is not even weeping, comments on his resignation and concludes that all Christians are possessed.

Francisco and Quintanar go to a nearby miller's to obtain two planks for a cross. Francisco lies his way through a long story

¹Cf. Isa. 53:7.

about a door jamb giving way from age; finally the miller and his wife supply them with two boards.

Next on stage are Entendimiento and El Uso de la Razón. Entendimiento explains that God has sent him to a boy, whose understanding is to be advanced as though he were thirty-three years old. Entendimiento recalls Abraham's near-sacrifice of Isaac, and asserts that the crucifixion of Juanico is one way of conquering the devil.

Noticing that the boy cannot carry the cross, Benito asks Hernando to help him. Hernando agrees to play Simon--for thirty coins. "How funny you are!" counters Benito. "Two will be enough." Francisco takes the role of the Hebrew woman who wiped Jesus' brow. (Lope provided instructions for a handkerchief bearing three painted, boyish faces, and for Francisco, after wiping Juanico's brow, to let the corners fall and reveal the faces. Thus is the legend of St. Veronica repeated.)

Razón and Entendimiento, invoking St. Francis and St. Jerome, by their commentaries keep the audience informed as the off-stage crucifixion proceeds. Soon a curtain is drawn to reveal Juanico on the cross, comforted by two angels. Like his Example, the boy cries, "Señor mío, Señor mío, ¿por qué me has desamparado?" Singing voices are heard, promising that Christ awaits him.

Benito climbs a ladder; blood is needed for the formula. Juanico, learning that Benito seeks his heart, points to the right place. With the Spanish equivalent of "Father, into Thy hands I commend my spirit," the boy dies. The men cover him and lay plans for burying him outside the cave.

Razón declares that the boy's mother has recovered her sight, just as a blind man recovered his on the day of the Crucifixion, healed by the fluid that ran down Jesus' side. Razón promises that death, misfortune, and infamy await the malefactors. Entendimiento praises Spain for deserving such a martyr, and Razón adds that hardly had the men taken the lad from the cave, when angels claimed him, body and soul. The play ends as the boy is seen rising on a cloud.

Observations

Identity of the Saints

St. Christopher of Guardia was stolen at the age of three years in Toledo by a group of Jews, who crucified him at Guardia in 1490 or 1491. He received the title of saint under Pius VII in 1805. He is the patron saint of Guardia.¹

St. Dominic appears briefly, in a vision, to Queen Isabella. Domingo de Guzmán (1170-1221; canonized in 1234) founded the Order of Friars Preachers, approved in 1216. "The Order of Preachers, with that founded by St. Francis and known as the Friars Minor, marks the culminating point of that powerful tide of Christian asceticism which had begun with Cluny and been continued by Citeaux."²

El niño inocente contains, then, two male saints of the second millenium of the Christian era. One is a martyr and patron, the other

¹BkSts, p. 140. Note that in the play, the boy is, for practical reasons, ten years of age.

²Ibid., pp. 178-179.

a founder. There are no female, Biblical, or fictitious saints in the play.

Qualities of the Saints

Especially in the second-act scene where Juanico is interested in the giants which pass in the procession, the dramatist occasionally gives the saint the attributes of an average child. The heavier evidence, however, points to the saintly superiority of the boy's intellect and traits of character. In his first appearance he declares, while discussing with his father the lives of Sts. Justus and Pastor, that he wishes he might sacrifice his life for Christ. His desire for martyrdom can be seen all through Act III, during the ordeal of the torture and crucifixion. Even when Benito climbs the ladder to claim Juanico's heart, the boy willingly points to its place.

Submission is another of Juanico's characteristics. He is willing to be spanked by his teacher if he needs it; though enticed by promises of a horse, candy, and fruit, he wants to be sure that his parents have given their permission for him to accompany the stranger; and even when he tries to run away from his captors, he maintains that he must be giving them reason to mistreat him. Mixed with his submission is faith; he is confident that God will show him the reason for his sufferings, and he trustfully commends his spirit to God's hands in the words of Jesus.

Juanico's religious inclination is observed early in the play, when he chooses for recreation a book on Sts. Justus and Pastor, and when, a while later, he declares that he wishes he were an angel.

Even his tormentors commend his patience and endurance; and Herrera and his wife, though they see little of the boy, are convinced that he does not deserve the harsh treatment he is receiving. "Es como un oro," declares María, commenting on the boy's reputation with a remark which is made three times during the play.

The universal concept of sainthood as imitation of the perfect life is clearly manifested in Juanico. Ocaña, concluding because of the boy's resignation that all Christians are possessed of demons, asks him what he is thinking about; Juanico replies,

En la gran ventura mía,
pues voy a Cristo imitando.¹

He prays for wisdom beyond his years, that he might participate fully in the sufferings of Christ; and he is grateful and enthusiastic about having been privileged to receive three more lashes than the number given to Jesus.

In Santo Domingo, though his role is a short one, we see zeal and faith. He expresses complete trust that Christianity (i.e., Catholicism) will spread and heresy will be wiped out. Among his attitudes are an approval of the Inquisition and an urgent recommendation for the expulsion of non-Christians from Spain. The only objection we might propose is that Santo Domingo does not display the greatest modesty in his declaration to Queen Isabella that it would be impossible for him to detail the accomplishments of his illustrious family.

¹Aguilar III, 409. Cf. Matt. 5:11-12 and Luke 21:12-19.

Theology, Miracles, and Demonology

No real doctrines, other than those involved in the concept of sainthood, are presented in El niño inocente. The briefest mention of the plan of redemption is made by Entendimiento, who asserts that it is well for Juanico to give his heart for Christ, since Christ gave His heart for him. Lutheranism is attacked, but merely in passing. The whole play, however, is pervaded with bitterness toward Judaism. Seventeenth-century Spanish anti-semitism must have had its extreme dramatic portrayal in El niño inocente. Hase sees the play as "an attempt . . . to justify the bitter hatred of the Jews, which was characteristic of Spanish Christianity. . . ." ¹

Miracles in El niño inocente include the appearance of Santo Domingo in vision to Queen Isabella; the appearance of an angel to Juanico, to assure him that his prayers have been heard; the impression of Juanico's face on the cloth used to wipe his brow; the presence of two angels with Juanico as he hangs on the cross; the sudden restoration of the eyesight of the boy's mother; and Juanico's disappearance, borne heavenward on a cloud.

Demons as such do not appear in El niño inocente, but prominence is attached to the black magic formula requiring a Christian heart and bread from a Christian altar. When a pig's heart is substituted, swine drinking from the river where the potion has been emptied turn on each other furiously. Indeed, the whole play can be

¹Hase, p. 100.

interpreted as reflecting--at least in the mind of the seventeenth-century Spaniard--the controversy between Christ and Satan: Christ, as imitated by Juanico (St. Christopher); Satan, as personified by the Jews, whose disbelief was so offensive.

Every action of the Jews contributes to the single goal of increasing their despicability in the eyes of the spectator. This paean to racial hatred properly ends with a scene in which the Jews appear in their double role as murderers of a Christian child and as executioners of the Savior.¹

The Play

The pervading racial hatred in El niño inocente makes of the play a manifesto of medieval ideas on the Jew, who was thought, as Christ's enemy, to revel in mocking the Passion and to plot against the Christians around him. The Jewish anti-heroes of the play show little character development. Their crime was the sin of a race rather than of a few; individual distinctions, therefore, would be meaningless.²

The rather sketchy development of the play can also be ascribed to the emphasis on the real theme, the dark blot of Jewish unbelief. The triumph of justice, for example, is very weak; Razón merely announces that death, misfortune, and infamy await the tormentors of Juanico.³ Moreover, the dramatist probably realized that the addition of scenes of inquisitional torture would detract from the

¹Edward Glaser, "Lope de Vega's El Niño inocente de La Guardia," Bulletin of Hispanic Studies, XXXII (July, 1935), p. 150.

²Ibid.

³Aguilar III, 413.

Fita in 1887.¹ The Glaser article² is the most penetrating study of the play. It is described briefly by Hase,³ Valbuena,⁴ and Zamora Vicente.⁵

¹Fidel Fita, "La Judería de Segovia: documentos inéditos," Boletín Academia de la Historia, cuaderno I, tomo X (January, 1887), pp. 78-79.

²See p. 237, note 1.

³Pp. 100-101.

⁴Historia de la literatura, p. 240.

⁵p. 244.

Comedia famosa de El santo negro Rosambuco
de la ciudad de Palermo,
compuesta por Lope de Vega Carpio¹

First lines. Santo: Ea, turcos valerosos
 de las hazañas crisoles

Last lines. Molina. Aquí fenece la historia
 del Santo Negro del Cielo.

CHARACTERS²

*El Santo Negro	*San Francisco
El Virrey	Un paje
Don Pedro Portocarrero	Ribera, viejo
El Capitán Molina	Dos demonios
Lesbio, Alguacil Mayor	Un galán
Niseya, dama	Pedrisco
Lucrecia, negra	Una endemoniada
El Guardián	Christo, niño
Dos frailes	Laura, mujer de Lesbio

Acto primero

Set in the middle of the sixteenth century, the play opens as Rosambuco seeks to defend his Moslem galley against the Spaniards and Sicilians. Seeing that defeat is inevitable, Rosambuco tries to throw himself into the sea, but a Child appears and dissuades him.

¹Acad. IV, 361-392. Probably written between 1604 and 1606.

²Saints are indicated by asterisks. The last character, Laura, is not listed in Acad. IV, but has a substantial role in the play itself.

Santo: Niño discreto, ¿quién eres?
 Nino: Yo soy No te desesperes;
 que Dios del cielo te guarda
 para que asombres el mundo.¹

Rosambuco graciously turns his sword over to don Pedro Portocarrero. Don Pedro, learning that Rosambuco is of royal Ethiopian lineage, promises him a good master.

Laura, wife of the alguacil mayor, is walking on the beach with Lucrecia, her slave, a little negress who speaks in dialect. Captain Molina approaches and professes great devotion for Laura, pleading with her to remove her veil. Laura declines, explaining that she is a married woman and should not encourage his interest in her. Suddenly the viceroy and the alguacil mayor (Lesbio, Laura's husband) appear. Lesbio, since he is in the presence of a superior, insists on enforcing the king's decree that a veiled woman encountered in the streets must uncover her face. Captain Molina, having concluded that Laura is Lesbio's wife, understands that her life is in danger; so he protests that she will be unveiled only after his sword is taken from him. Reminded of the viceroy's presence, Lesbio and Captain Molina put away their weapons. Apprised of the truth by Molina in an aside, the viceroy seeks to end the matter by declaring that he is equal to the law, and that the woman may remain veiled. The problem of honor is now solved, technically; Lesbio and Molina shake hands, but Lesbio in an aside admits, "Un infierno llevo de sospechas en el pecho."

¹Acad. IV, 362.

After the men have left, Niseya happens to come along and, to help Laura, changes outer skirts with her.

Don Pedro Portocarrero reports to the viceroy on having won a galley from the Saracens. Accepting Rosambuco as a gift, the viceroy in turn presents him to Lesbio in appreciation for Lesbio's having yielded in the matter of the veiled woman. Rosambuco answers all questions with perfect courtesy and, alone with his new master, asserts that he can cultivate the land, harvest the crops, direct a ship, be a shepherd--in short, act as slave or master. Lesbio appoints him overseer of his garden and orchard, and servant to Laura.

Don Pedro and Niseya pledge their devotion to each other. Molina, who passes by chance, recognizes the outer skirt and concludes that Niseya is Laura, and mentions before don Pedro that he has spoken earlier with this woman. Don Pedro is scandalized, and, even after Niseya reveals her identity and Captain Molina owns his error, insists that he can never marry a woman about whose honor there is the slightest doubt. The viceroy joins the group and hears both sides of the issue. He confirms that they are both right, and sends Niseya inside to await the outcome of the duel.

Laura assures the suspicious Lesbio that she has been in the house all day. Lesbio presents Rosambuco to her, and the couple leave Rosambuco alone with Lucrecia, the lisping negress. She immediately offers herself to the new servant, but he refuses her invitation.

Ribera, aged escudero, arrives with the skirt which Niseya is returning to Laura. He drops it to make love to Lucrecia. Lesbio

discovers this scene, and, in disgust, has Rosambuco tie the two back to back. Ribera explains the mission of the garment, and Lesbio at once determines to avenge his honor. He orders Rosambuco to strangle Laura. The big Moslem asks Laura to understand that he is a slave and must obey. She finally secures permission from Lesbio to commend herself to heaven before an image of San Benito which is in their little chapel. A curtain is drawn to reveal the saint sitting as if reading. Laura pours out the whole story, asking that the saint give her death if she deserves it, absolution and rescue if she has told the truth. The image now lifts his hand in blessing! Lesbio at once relents and declares Laura's innocence. Rosambuco announces his intention to renounce Mohammed and the Koran, and to be baptized and given the name "Benito."

Acto segundo

A day later, Ribera and Lucrecia are still tied. Under Lesbio's orders, Rosambuco comes to release them. Then he sits down for a nap. In vision, San Francisco appears to Rosambuco, asserting that the rope he carries represents a ladder to heaven, each knot a rung. He instructs the slave to leave the false Mohammed, be baptized, and take the Franciscan vows. And he declares that if Rosambuco will make the sign of the cross on his mouth, he will be wise in Christian virtues. When the African awakes, he finds that he knows the Pater-noster, the Ave María, the commandments, and the credo.

Molina was wounded in the duel, but Pedro was defeated and therefore asks to be wed to Niseya. The viceroy, glad to see

friendship restored between the two men, asks to be padrino. Niseya expresses her happiness. Pedro insists on taking Molina to their home so that he might rest and be healed.

The saintly African now informs us that he has been baptized as Benito. Though sent by his master to work in the orchard, he will first pray to the Virgin. Heavenly music responds to his prayer, and the man is promised that his name is in God's book. As he prays, Lucrecia approaches, assuming that he is asleep and determined to steal a kiss. Lesbio, observing from a distance, is angry because the slave is not at work; but he decides to await the outcome of Lucrecia's plan. As she is about to plant her kiss, from under the stage there appears the head of a serpent, "con un cohete en la boca echando fuego." Lucrecia flees in terror. Lesbio, taking the serpent for a trick of Benito's, complains about the laziness of his slave. Benito protests humbly that he is not a magician, but merely a sinner. He explains that when he spends his time in prayer, he finds the garden miraculously tilled. At the slave's invitation, Lesbio stands next to him and hears heavenly voices in responses and a Psalm. The two men are inexplicably lifted from the ground. Back on his own feet, Lesbio throws himself at those of Benito and promises him half his possessions, especially since he has no children. Benito protests that all this is unseemly; after all, he is still a slave. He does, however, ask one favor: he wishes to join the monastery of Jesús del Monte as a donado.¹

¹A lowly office, held by one who has not taken religious orders.

Don Pedro, Niseya, and Laura lament the approaching death of Captain Molina, whose wound has formed a cancerous infection reaching almost to his heart. Lesbio arrives with the news of Benito's becoming a Franciscan, and, learning of the seriousness of Molina's condition, resolves to test Benito's acceptance with God. Though ridiculed by Pedro and Niseya, Lesbio declares his faith in God and Benito and places Benito's hat, which he kept as a relic, on Molina's head. The captain is immediately healed. The group decides to visit Jesús del Monte and offer thanks.

At the monastery, Pedrisco, a donado, insults Benito repeatedly. Benito, however, merely tells him to be calm and obedient as befits his office. When Pedrisco calls the former slave a "negro santurrón" and begins to kick him, the other friars come to see what is happening. Pedrisco is reprimanded and taken away, but Benito humbly affirms that he gave Pedrisco cause for his actions. The guardián, impressed with Benito's humility, insists that he take the capilla.

Pedro, Molina, Lesbio, Laura, and Niseya arrive and kneel at Benito's feet. He protests, and leaves in embarrassment while they tell the guardián of Molina's restoration to health.

Pedrisco fumes over Benito's election as guardián, and resolves to ridicule him in every possible way. At his urging, some musicians sing several cutting coplas about Benito; but three times, angelic voices sing a refutation. The musicians accept the miracle as proof of Benito's sainthood.

Asked by Benito to produce what he is carrying under his cloak, Pedrisco declares that it is a lizard. But when he starts to show Benito the guitar he was carrying, it is suddenly transformed into a lizard, firmly attached to Pedrisco's fingers. Benito deems the punishment just, and further sentences Pedrisco to an hour of contemplation, with him, each evening.

A messenger brings word that the viceroy wishes to consult Benito about an important matter. Pedrisco resolves to disguise himself as Benito and, before the viceroy and his retinue, make a laughingstock of the African.

Acto tercero

A demon-possessed girl is the problem of the viceroy, who takes her to the monastery, Molina and Lesbio assuring him all the while that the saintly Benito can restore her. Benito disclaims any ability to heal, but he does consent to pray. The girl, however, pours out a torrent of insults and refuses to go near the saint. She speaks for a brief while in a kind of jargon. Benito asks San Francisco to plead with God for her deliverance, and with a noise like an explosion the girl falls, released from the demon's power.

Suddenly Pedrisco rushes in, his face mistakenly covered with flour, and prepares to pursue his plan to impersonate Benito. The saint gently reprimands him for such a jest in the presence of the viceroy. After the distinguished visitors have left, Benito asks Pedrisco why he persecutes him. In case he deserves punishment, Benito continues, Pedrisco may step on his mouth and chest. Pedrisco

complies with vigor, calling Benito the devil and himself St. Michael. Benito now reminds Pedrisco that it is time for his penance, the season of meditation. The African describes Christ in the garden and on the cross, shedding His blood for them; he speaks of His resignation and suffering, and the anguish of His mother. At each pause, Pedrisco murmurs sleepily, "Sí, ya contemplo." When Benito is carried upward in vision, however, Pedrisco sees his opportunity and tries to hurl Benito into the sea, but he hardly gets through the door when two demons chase him back inside, whacking him all the while. Other voices are heard shouting "Fire!" Lesbio can be heard calling for help, and Laura moaning that he is trapped inside their burning house. Soon Pedro and Molina bring in Lesbio's body, and Pedro suggests that they take it to Benito.

Two friars lament the imminent death of their saint, who lies on some rude mats. They wonder how they will manage without him, but Benito replies that their shepherd is St. Francis and their father is Christ. He begs their pardon for his mistakes and pleads that heaven may bless them. Pedrisco is seething during this time of devotion, and when Benito asks for water, he quickly volunteers to go for it. Benito murmurs that even in this condition he must make the sign of the cross, as he always has before consuming anything. When he does so, the glass breaks, spilling the poison Pedrisco has placed in it. This miracle brings the wayward religious to his senses, and he begs Benito's pardon for his envy and malice. The other friars threaten to imprison him; but Benito asserts that it was not idly that he sent for the water, and asks them to love Pedrisco.

Laura and her dead husband are brought in by Pedro and Molina. Benito, awed, asks how one dead man can secure life for another. But he has them bring the body near and, mentioning Lazarus and the widow's son, prays. Then he announces that in the hour of his own death, Lesbio will be restored. The saint commends his soul to God and expires; Lesbio sits up. Lucrecia rushes in to announce that the whole house has been miraculously restored; not a thing was lost in the fire.

The play ends as offstage voices demand admittance, and Pedro declares, "su olor da vida y consuelo."

Observations

Identity of the Saints

St. Benedict the Moor (1526-1589) was born of Negro parents, serfs near Messina. A hermit for a while, he joined the Friars Minor at Palermo as a lay-brother. Later, he excelled as guardian and then as novice master of the friary. 'His heart, however, was in the kitchen, whither he returned in his old age. Beatified in 1743 and canonized in 1807."¹

St. Francis of Assisi (1181-1226) founded the Order of Friars Minor, characterized by poverty and by a "joyous worship of the Sacred Humanity of Christ."² St. Francis was canonized two years after his death.

¹BkSts, p. 96.

²Ibid., p. 246.

Christ, as a child, appears early in the play, and an image of St. Benedict the Founder¹ miraculously raises an arm in approval of Laura's prayer. Angel voices are heard, but no other holy personages appear in the play.

Qualities of the Saint²

The saintly characteristics of Rosambuco the Negro are evident even before his conversion. His surrender to don Pedro is completely gracious, and his courtesy as a captive and slave is commendable. He is resigned, content with his lot: "¡Tiempo bravo! Ayer era señor, hoy soy esclavo."³ It might also be noted that he hesitates to obey his master's instructions regarding the taking of a human life.⁴ Outstanding is Rosambuco's victory over the temptations of the flesh; when Lucrecia offers herself to him, his refusal is immediate and unmistakable:

Rosambuco:	Que me atormenta
	el oírte.
Negra:	¿A quién?
Rosambuco:	A ti.
	Quiero partirme de aquí,
	que doy de mí mala cuenta. ⁵

¹C. 480-c. 550, according to BkSts, p. 96.

²San Francisco's appearance in this play is so brief that he will not be discussed here. See El serafín humano.

³Acad. IV, 367.

⁴I.e., a civilian life; "thou shalt not kill" appears not to have applied to wartime. Hiroshima and Nagasaki are more than fair indications that the twentieth century is no different.

⁵Acad. IV, 369-370. Rosambuco's moral strength makes us wonder why he is called a "libertino convertido"; see below, p. 244.

After his conversion to Catholic Christianity, Rosambuco-- or Benito--places prayer to the Virgin ahead of all his other duties. He is patient with Pedrisco, but his patience is sensibly mixed with firmness. When at last Pedrisco repents of his animosity toward the saint, Benito has no desire to see him punished, even though he has just tried to poison the dying man. The saint is resigned in the face of approaching death, and has faith that St. Francis as a shepherd and Christ as a father will care for the little flock he is leaving.

Benito's most prominent quality is his humility. Soon after his conversion, when Lesbio complains about the apparent neglect of the garden, Benito humbly declares that he is a sinner who does not deserve the favors God is granting him. He protests when Lesbio, miraculously apprised of the slave's saintliness, falls at his feet; and he asserts that he does not consider himself worthy of being even a donado in the Franciscan order. Benito's humility and forbearance are repeatedly made manifest in his reception of bad treatment from Pedrisco; even when the envious novice kicks him and calls him a "negro santurrón," the saintly Benito affirms simply that he must have given Pedrisco cause for such an attitude. Later, Benito invites Pedrisco to "get it out of his system" by stepping on the former slave's chest and mouth. Pressed by the guardian to take higher orders, Benito objects that he is a brute, unworthy of sweeping the floors. When Pedro, Molina, Lesbio, Laura, and Niseya kneel before him after Molina's miraculous healing, Benito protests,

¡Jesús! ¿qué hacéis, quien se humilla
a un gusano como yo?¹

Later, Captain Molina and Lesbio try to kiss Benito's hand, but he suggests that his habit would be better. Learning of the problem of the girl with the demonic seizures, he disclaims any ability to heal, calling himself "el más vil de la gente."² The last saintly quality mentioned is the divine fragrance noted at the time of the good man's death.³

Theology, Miracles, and Demonology

The humility of San Benito de Palermo is emphasized almost to the point of being a doctrine. Pedrisco, when he tries to throw Benito into the sea, pauses to refer to the story of Satan's ejection from heaven; this matter is mentioned in a number of the plays here under consideration. Immediately after Benito's death, a friar declares, "Ya goza del alto asiento," supporting the doctrine, widely held then and now, of the immediate passage of the soul to its reward at death.⁴ The mediatorial role of Mary is mentioned when she is called "la puerta de Cristo."⁵ St. Francis, in his miraculous appearance to Benito, gives as the fundamentals of Christian doctrine the

¹Acad. IV, p. 381.

²Ibid., p. 385.

³Cf. El rústico del cielo and Santa Teresa de Jesús.

⁴Cf. "For the living know that they shall die: but the dead know not anything . . ." (Eccl. 9:5) and "But the heavens and the earth, which are now, by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men." (II Pet. 3:7.)

⁵Acad. IV, 375.

Paternoster, the Ave María, the commandments, and the credo. Heavenly voices utter what today would be an inflammatory declaration of faith when they sing to Benito,

que aunque eres negro, habrá día
que estés bello, hermoso y blanco.¹

Islam is seen as a false religion the adherents of which deserve to be defeated in war. No other heresies are attacked.

Miracles in El santo negro Rosambuco include the following: the Christ Child appears to the Moor, to prevent his suicide; an image of St. Benedict raises his hand as if blessing Laura, thus testifying to her innocence (even though she has lied about the matter); St. Francis appears in vision to Benito and endows him with a knowledge of the fundamental Catholic beliefs; heavenly music responds to the saint's prayer, and Lesbio and Benito are lifted from the floor ("elevados") as they listen; the dying Molina is instantaneously healed by the saint's hat; angelic voices refute the slanderous songs of Pedrisco's friends; the guitar Pedrisco calls a lizard inexplicably turns into one; a demon is conquered by Benito and forced to leave the girl who has long been possessed; a glass filled with poison suddenly breaks, when Benito makes the sign of the cross; Benito's dying prayer brings Lesbio back to life and restores his whole house, which had just been destroyed by fire. Not enacted, but stated in dialogue, is the miraculous working of the garden and orchard while Benito spends his time in prayer.

¹Ibid. Note the suggestion that all inhabitants of paradise are white.

Demonic spectacle in El santo negro Rosambuco begins with the fire-breathing serpent in Act II. Offstage noise and violent lines accompany the girl's release from possession by demons. Pedrisco, endeavoring to hurl Benito into the sea, is chased and whacked by demons, though we wonder why; it seems that the demons would have rejoiced at Benito's destruction instead of preventing it.

The Play

El santo negro Rosambuco, as has just been seen, has more than its share of miracles and demons. The work, especially in such scenes as that containing the serpent with a fire-producing device in its mouth, comes close to being a comedia de magia.

The play moves fairly well, however. Unity of place gives it a cohesion not always found in comedias de santos. The manageable number of characters, all of whom contribute to the overall development of the plot, is also an asset. The fortunes of Lesbio and Laura, Pedro and Niseya, and Captain Molina are successfully interwoven throughout the play, the miraculous resurrection of Lesbio providing a happy solution for this thread, which assuredly merits the rank of subplot. Act I moves with special rapidity in view of its important personages, battle scene, involvements of pundonor, and quick reversals of fortune for Rosambuco. Menéndez y Pelayo goes so far as to state¹ that the saint is much more interesting as a pirate and captain than he is after his conversion.

¹Ibid., p. ci.

Benito's language is always characterized by dignity and humility. Contrasting with this language is that of the little negress, Lucrecia, who, because of her dialect, is called "intolerable" by the great critic.¹

It is Lucrecia who provides the humorous element in El santo negro Rosambuco. She is a boba whose commentaries and personal tendencies afford relief from the serious matters attended to by the saint. The jargon she speaks is thick, and quickly tires the reader. Apart from her offering herself to Benito and the later tête-à-tête with the aged Ribera, there are no crudities in her lines. At least part of the audience must have laughed at her terror when the serpent hissed fire at her; and the soldier, Molina, causes one laugh--though with a line that would not do today--when he inquires why she covers one dark mantle with another.

One widely-known writer relates El santo negro Rosambuco to Calderón's La devoción de la cruz, Moreto's San Franco de Sena, and El condenado por desconfiado, usually ascribed to Tirso, calling the four plays descendants of Cervantes' El rufián dichoso, and classifying them as "comedias de libertinos convertidos."² The present writer fails to see that Rosambuco was a libertine in the way that the protagonists of the other plays were. Rosambuco, before his conversion, is dignified, submissive, resigned, and victorious even over the temptations of womankind.

¹Ibid.

²Pfandl, Historia de la literatura, p. 129.

And always, Rosambuco is humble. His humility is the leaven of the whole play. Lesbio perhaps sums up the dramatist's attitude toward humility when he concludes in Act II, "Vamos, Santo Negro; que Dios honra al que se humilla."¹ Can there be a clue here as to why this saint, who died in 1589, was so much admired in 1607, and considered a saint even though his cult was not approved until 1743?

¹Acad. IV, 377.

El rústico del cielo,¹
tragicomedia famosa de
Lope de Vega Carpio

Don Pedro	Andrea, su mujer
Don Gonzalo	Pobres
Estudiantes	La Soberbia
Justina	El Demonio
El cura	Belardo
El sacristán	Faustino
Pastelero	Un cortesano
Zorrilla	Un ropero
Montalvo	El compañero del hermano
Fray Juan de Jesús	El Provincial
El Prior de Madrid	Un novicio y otros padres
El Prior de Valencia	Dos jurados

Acto primero

The first act, set in late sixteenth-century Spain, opens with a lyric description of the coming dawn, as seen by the shepherds Sancho, Domingo, and Lucas. Wondering where Francisco, their master's son is, Sancho declares that one could not teach the lad the alphabet in a hundred years. Domingo finds the young man stumbling about, unable to wake up. After the shepherds have thrown water on him, he manages to ask whether they could not have knocked. He explains that he was dreaming that he was on the way to heaven, and his heart is glad. "Well," quips Sancho, "remember me when thou comest to thy kingdom." "Since you are robbing my father," replies Francisco, "it is well for you to imitate the good thief."

The shepherds direct Francisco to busy himself cutting wood, and they also begin to work. Francisco, communing with God, cannot bring himself to cut down in a few minutes what has taken years to grow. Finally, he cuts a dry tree; one which yields no fruit can be cut, he decides.

A traveller calls to Francisco; at first, Francisco thinks that the tree is talking to him. The traveller is exasperated by such directions as "Take that path, and if you get there you will be there." But he is also inexplicably impressed, and wants to kiss Francisco's hand. Francisco, however, is puzzled; he first fears being tied, then being bitten.

A forest warden appears after the traveller leaves. Asking to see Francisco's license for cutting timber, he is surprised to find that he has one. Francisco is disturbed by the pike the warden carries, and threatens the man with a stone. The warden counters with a threat of imprisonment. Francisco fells him as David did Goliath. Domingo, shocked, helps Francisco carry the warden to where he might be confessed.

Mateo, Francisco's father, is talking with the regidor about crops and herds when Sancho rushes in to announce that Francisco has killed a man. Mateo admits that he has long feared something of this sort, and the regidor suggests that Francisco be taken far away. The young man now comes calmly along, and, noticing his father's anger, asks how he has offended him. He reasons that he is not responsible for the man's death, since the wound in his head was so small one

could hardly put a fist in it. The regidor urges distance between Francisco and his home, and offers twenty reales as encouragement. Under Mateo's instructions, Francisco leaves for Alcalá; but soon he reappears, complaining that Alcalá is too far away. While Mateo and the regidor wonder what to do, Francisco interpolates such remarks as, "It was not I who hit him; the rock is to blame."

In Alcalá, don Juan, don Pedro, and Gonzalo talk about their lot. Their amusing students' jargon is largely concerned with women and food. When Justina opens a window above their heads, Pedro asks whether she and her friend Andrea (and their maid, interjects Gonzalo) are busy. Justina informs them that Andrea is giving birth. "May it be with blessing," replies Pedro, adding that her husband has been in Aragon for more than a year. Gonzalo suggests two gorronas whom the students might like and whom he visits with a certain grammarian who taught him how to conjugate.

Francisco takes the vacant stage to comment on how big the world is, how unlettered he is, and how he would like to know more about his God. Aware that his Master suffered for him, he humbly prays to be of service.

The priest and the sacristan of San Justo approach, lamenting the departure of their young helper. Francisco asks whether he might be accepted for the position.

Cura:	¿De dónde sois?	
Francisco:	de mi tierra. ¹	Yo, señor,

¹Acad. V, 248.

The priest, after other such replies, decides that the young man is too simple-minded. The sacristan, however, offers to train him.

Some students provide an amusing interlude. Montalvo, Carpio, Salinas, and Zorrilla flee with some meat pies, the baker pursuing them because they did not pay. Seeing that he cannot overtake them, the baker calls after them that the pastries are made from donkey meat. The students begin to groan, and they enter a shop to buy something to make them regurgitate. The baker, meanwhile, enjoys his little deceit.

The sacristan tells Francisco to leave; he can stand it no longer. When he tells him to ring, he tolls, and when he says toll, he rings. Furthermore, he eats up the communion bread. Alone, Francisco pours out his heart to God, asking for guidance. A supernatural voice is unexpectedly heard, saying, "Sirve a muchos"; and a three-part vocal response adds, "Y agradarás a uno." Francisco interprets the admonition to mean that he should help at a hospital. The priest approves of this decision, and takes Francisco to the Hospital de Altozana.

Francisco's father makes financial restitution to the widow and four children of the man Francisco killed.

At the hospital, the doctor, to determine whether Francisco has followed directions, asks Andrés to read the instructions for that day. The orders for the patient in bed one were to bleed him and give him no food until afternoon. Francisco interrupts to say that the man declared that he was hungry, so he gave him a hen. For bed five,

an enema was ordered. "That," asserts Francisco, "I gave to bed six, with good results, as you may see by examining el hermano vidriado." Each time, Francisco's treatment was different from the physician's instructions, but in each case the patient benefited; several of them are already at home. The doctor, however, is not impressed, and orders Francisco's dismissal. Pablo objects, with such a tribute of praise that the doctor decides that human judgment should not interfere with a man of God. Andrés adds his conviction that God brought Francisco to Alcalá.

Acto segundo

Hernando, Andrea's husband, returns home after an absence of three years.¹ He is upset by the presence of the child, and threatens to kill Andrea. When Andrea explains that Brother Francis brought her the child for her to raise, Hernando calms down, admitting that he has heard of Francisco's saintliness even in Aragon.

Jerónimo, a well-to-do student, advises Marcelo, a poor one, to seek assistance from Francisco, whose resources, generosity, and saintly habits are now known throughout the land. Later, Francisco agrees for Marcelo to take his meals at the hospital.

Hernando asks Francisco about the child. Francisco's reply is simply that if he and Andrea do not wish to raise it, other arrangements may be made. Hernando takes this as a satisfactory answer.

¹Two years, then, have elapsed since we first met Andrea in Act I.

A poor person enters, asking for bread. Francisco declares that the Child Jesus will provide. A curtain is drawn to reveal loaves and the Child, and Francisco carries on both parts of a dialogue:

- ¿Tomo un pan? - Y tomad dos.
 - ¡Qué liberal sois! - Soy Dios.

Later, alone, Francisco offers a charming psalm of thanksgiving. Maintaining that he is worthless, he begs for divine wisdom, and for forgiveness for the slaying of the warden of Alcaraz.

A poor woman enters, lamenting that she does not have a coat to wear to mass; Francisco provides the coat, but only after she produces a note proving that she has been to confession.

Hernando asks Andrea's forgiveness for his suspicions about the child. Pedro and Montalvo interrupt, demanding admittance; but learning who Hernando really is, they quickly forget their desire for vengeance and mumble that they understood the house was for rent. Francisco arrives with the woman to whom he gave the coat, and states that he has found some one who will care for the child. Hernando and Andrea refuse to part with it, so he sends Hernando to walk the woman home. During Hernando's absence, Francisco admonishes Andrea to "go and sin no more." He also chides Pedro and Montalvo until they express genuine contrition and determine to take holy vows, whereupon Francisco offers thanks to God for the pair of partridges he has just taken "en el bosque del tiñoso."

Before leaving to visit "el hermano mayor," the king, Francisco asks the blessing of the Christ Child on the gardens and

orchards, fondly speaking of brother asparagus, brother lettuce, and brother radish, and hoping that everything that grows will be for the good of some sick or hungry person. He spies a handsome ox, and asks its driver its price. He pays the driver twenty escudos without quibbling, and goes his way, explaining that he will claim the animal later. The farmer exults in his good fortune: twenty escudos and the animal to boot!

Juan, Salinas, and Gonzalo, learning that Pedro has taken holy vows, call on Justina. They find her praying. Declaring that her life is changed, she sends them on their way.

Members of the palace staff are amazed at how Francisco arose when he had finished eating, leaving the Duke still at the table. The good brother is so candid and informal as to have walked about the palace with his arms around the shoulders of the prince and princess.

At the hospital, Pablo receives a servant who says he has brought a big present from a certain lady for the Christmas festivities. He insists on presenting it in person to Francisco, who fortunately arrives at that moment. The gift turns out to be the ox. The farmer admits that he could not keep the animal from coming to the hospital, and that he has been justly exposed. Francisco adds the animal to the manger scene he has prepared, and, with children all around him, begins to distribute gifts.

Acto tercero

Through their expressions of regret, Juan and Salinas inform us that Francisco has decided to become a Carmelite lego descalzo. Even the king has been asked to urge Francisco to stay at the hospital, but Francisco declares that his duty is to a higher king. In answer to the regrets of the poor friends and students who depend on him, he states simply,

El Niño Jesús me manda
seguirle; así hacerlo quiero.¹

Soberbia chides the devil for his inability to trap Francisco. The devil explains that Francisco has the help of a great one, although a tender child, and that Christ's death has conquered the prince of evil. He complains about Francisco's calling him "tífoso" when his beautiful head used to be in heaven.

Faustino and Belardo describe the pomp of the funeral of Philip II, and add praises of Philip III and Margarita with special mention of their wedding festivities. Many nobles are also singled out for adulation. In a brief scene of pageantry, the king and queen pass, on their way to church.

An ill-clothed man comes to Francisco for help. Francisco takes him to a nearby clothier and chooses garments for him. The clothier, unhappy without cash payment, threatens legal action. Two courtiers happen to pass, and, learning of the difficulty, pay

¹Acad. V, 266.

for the clothes. Francisco's reaction is, "Didn't I tell you that the Child would provide?"

The devil complains about Valencia, where Francisco now is, calling it "tierra de santos." He describes the love of the populace for Francisco; they respect him, consider him an Elijah, and cut pieces from his garments.

Francisco assures two jurados that God has shown him that the plague will not hurt Valencia. As they remove the guards from the city, the devil rants over their faith.

A shoeless man appeals for help. Francisco gives him two reales with instructions to buy shoes of sheepskin. When a companion points out that for one additional real he could buy shoes of tanned leather, Francisco asserts that with such shoes the man would lose sight of how long God can make them last.

In Madrid, the Carmelite provincial instructs Pray Juan de Jesús to go to Valencia for Francisco, and, to avoid upsetting the city, to bring him back that same night to Madrid and Alcalá, where he is needed.

Francisco talks lovingly to his Niño Jesús, declaring that he wishes he could receive as many and as severe lashes as He did before the Crucifixion. He dances and sings, each stanza being repeated by three unseen singers. Tenderly, he puts the image to bed in a cradle he has made, and rocks it. As Francisco falls asleep, the devil appears, bemoaning the power of such simple faith. Amid much noise, Demonio tries to strangle the sleeping man. When

the prior and other friars run to see what is causing the uproar, Francisco assures them that the Niño was awakened and that the scabby one will be punished.

When Juan de Jesús arrives, Francisco insists that he will need three days to prepare to leave. The prior urges that they obey instructions and leave at once. Declaring that the Niño does not wish him to leave that night, Francisco invites the others to watch and decide who has the greater power. Immediately a frightening thunderstorm breaks out. The prior relents, avowing that he has no desire to oppose the will of God, and pleading with Francisco to calm the storm.

The devil asserts that he can do no more against such odds. Furthermore, he has foreseen the godly death of Francisco. Satan and Soberbia describe Francisco's departure from Valencia, with thousands following; his arrival at Alcalá, amid the rejoicing of the citizens; and his preparation for death in Madrid, at Christmas. Soberbia observes that his devotion leads him to die at Christmas, when God is born. A curtain is drawn, revealing the dying man surrounded by friars who comfort him and seek his consolation. He expresses faith in the forgiveness of his sins and his imminent union with the Child and his blessed mother. As he expires, the prior comments that his death was appropriate for his saintly life, and that they will have to protect his body from the ardor of the clamoring populace.

Observations

Identity of the Saint

Brother Francis of the Discalced Carmelites was beatified not by the church, but by the populace. He was so well-liked that the actor who played him, Admirado Salvador, had difficulty separating himself from the character he portrayed; people repeatedly called him "Hermano Francisco," and even took up alms for him. Philip III and Marguerite, though cool toward the drama, liked El rústico del cielo because they had been fond enough of the good lay brother to allow him to use tú in conversing with them. The popular acclaim accorded the play and the actor were "para Lope, . . . una gran prueba de la santidad del celestial campesino."¹

Qualities of the Saint

Simplicity is perhaps the most obvious characteristic of Francisco. Both his actions and his thinking are uncluttered. He is nearly grown before he even learns to read. His faith is deep but simple; his prayers reveal a childlike sincerity and simplicity. The artificiality of court life disturbs him not at all; he unabashedly arises from the table when he has finished his meal, leaving the duke still eating. When his poor friends beg Francisco not to leave the hospital, he sees the issue as a very simple matter:

¹Vossler, Lope de Vega y su tiempo, p. 351. See also Zamora Vicente, pp. 240-242, and Menéndez y Pelayo, *Acad. V*, xxxiv.

"El Niño Jesús me manda seguirle; así hacerlo quiero."¹ "¡Santa simplicidad!" is the commentary of at least one observer.²

Francisco's humility is emphasized, as is that of many of the protagonists of the comedias de santos. Humility pervades his first-act prayer, in which he pleads to be of service to God. In Act II, he humbly begs for divine wisdom and, calling himself a beast of burden, a rustic, and a shepherd, asks forgiveness for having slain the warden. Toward the end of Act II, in giving thanks for the ox, he calls himself a mule. It is significant that he feels no pride concerning the ox, and he refuses to hear the former owner's remarks of self-condemnation. We conclude, then, that Francisco takes no pleasure in the punishment of the wicked.

Francisco's saintliness is further marked by a thankful spirit. Striking is the combination of simplicity, humility, and thanksgiving in these lines:

¡Gracias, gran Señor, os doy
de no haberme hecho de piedra,
árbol, planta, hierba o yedra,
sino el rústico que soy!

.....

¡Gracias os doy de no ser
mona, ni perro, ni gato,
ni oso, ni vaca, ni pato,
ni otra cosa que comer!

Soy hombre, un alma me diste
de inmortal y eterna vida,
con la sangre redimida
que de esas venas vertiste,

Y con ésta os pienso ver
muerto, y vivo en carne allá;

¹Acad. V, 266.

²Ibid., 264.

no que otro por mí os verá,
sino yo en mi mismo ser.¹

The verses just cited reveal Francisco's faith and conviction. Early in Act I, he asserts that faith is his mother. He repeatedly declares his faith by prayer and by song. When his poor friends beseech him not to leave the hospital, he states his faith not only in God's will that he leave for Valencia, but in their eventual reunion. When a courtier happens to offer the money for clothing for a poor man, Francisco asks, "Didn't I tell you the Christ Child would provide?" Even when attacked bodily by the devil, Francisco has implicit faith that God will protect him and punish Satan. And one of his last utterances is an assertion of faith that his sins are forgiven and he will soon see his Niño Jesús and His mother.

Strangely mixed with all the simplicity, humility, and faith is much practical sense. He may scarcely have learned to read, but he knows that the hired hands are robbing his father, he knows what to do for the sick, he knows how to patch up a very awkward situation between Andrea and her husband, without lying, and he knows a great deal about providing food and clothing for those who are in need.

These activities--caring for those who depend on him for food and clothing--involve plain, hard work. Gardening in Spain

¹Acad. V, 258-259. Cf. Job 19:25,26.

is not easy. Francisco, then, subscribed to hard work. His formula: "Creer y obrar."¹

Francisco's attitudes include a respect for God's creatures and plants; he does not wish to cut down in a few minutes a tree which has taken years to grow. Merely dreaming about going to heaven gladdens his heart. He wishes that he might suffer the lashes that Christ bore. And in a rather revolutionary declaration, he asserts that his duty is to a king greater than the Spanish king.²

It is not surprising, then, that Francisco's reputation should have spread so far. The people revere him, cut pieces from his garments, and attribute miracles to his intercession. Faustino's reaction is typical: "¡Qué santidad! ¡Qué gracia le acompaña!"³ Near the end of Act I, Pablo gives us a highly compressed stanza of praise, when he objects to the proposed dismissal of Francisco from the hospital:

Antes despide
al Hermano mayor y a cuantos somos,
porque la santidad deste hombre rústico
comienza a sustentar aquesta casa,
y hay doblada salud, aunque más pobres:
tiene gracia del cielo en las limosnas;
que parece que llueven en sus manos,
y sin eso, merécelo su vida,
que es un ejemplo, un claro espejo a todos:
no es grande ayunador, es abstinente;
según su complexión, su sueño apenas
es una hora cabal, y eso vestido,
en alguna escalera o algún banco;
toda la noche es oración continua;

¹Acad. V, 266.

²Ibid. Cf. Acts 5:29.

³Acad. V, 269.

su disciplina es cosa que nos tiene
en grande admiración, y, finalmente,
cuando yerra, él acierta más que todos.¹

In Act II, Juan describes the "santo, que bien puedo darle este nombre." He declares that it is clear at the hospital that Francisco is a man of God; that he clothes one, provides money for another, and finds shoes for yet another; that his resources are so many that he is known all over Spain; that his bed is an old pad thrown on a chest; that he rises at three for three hours of prayer and disciplina; that he has never handed out anything to his relatives; and that he loves his Niño Jesús profoundly, asking all to worship Him during the days of feasting that he provides for the poor at the Christmas season.

A heavenly fragrance about Francisco impressed the majordomo at the palace.

Lo que me admira,
que con aquella ropa sucia y pobre
tenga un olor divino, que consuela.²

Theology, Miracles, and Demonology

Doctrines mentioned in El rústico del cielo include the immortality of the soul together with a declaration of faith similar to that of Job;³ the need for both faith and works in the quest for salvation; and the subordination of earthly duties to those owed God. The fall of Satan receives some stress; Demonio and Soberbia

¹Ibid., p. 253.

²Acad. V, 264. (Italics inserted.)

³See above, p. 259.

repeatedly refer to it. The devil chafes, for example, under Francisco's calling him Tiñoso, and refers to his earlier post as lucero. He admits that his death-knell was sounded by the death of Christ.

Francisco's saintliness receives so much stress that we might consider the whole of his saintly qualities a doctrine. His characteristics are emphasized repeatedly in a longer than usual play and by a greater than usual number of characters.

Miracles in El rústico del cielo include the divine voice which admonishes Francisco to serve many and evokes a response from three other heavenly voices; the coming of the ox to the hospital in time for Christmas, in spite of his former owner's efforts to hold him back; and the terrifying storm which convinces the prior that Francisco is right in affirming that the Niño Jesús desires him to tarry three days in Valencia. In view of Francisco's hard work, and the wretched clothing he wears, the "olor divino" alluded to above may be a miracle in its own right.

There are no startling manifestations of demonic power in El rústico del cielo, except when the devil tries bodily to take Francisco's life. Demonio and Soberbia have a considerable number of lines, however, and in Act III inform us as to the concluding action of the drama.

The Play

El rústico del cielo is longer than many comedias de santos. It contains a multitude of characters, and moves quickly through a great number of scenes, many of which appear to have little purpose,

except to reiterate the saintly attributes of Francisco. Indeed, Francisco's superhuman qualities are so often described or manifested that one may wonder whether the dramatist felt obliged to compensate for the good brother's lack of official recognition as a saint. Sketchy though the action is in much of the play, it moves into a real deterioration in Act III, where, as if the dramatist were running out of space before the end of the story, Satan and Soberbia merely describe what Francisco does, jumping through time with such remarks as "Pasad, tiempos."

The trouble between Andrea and Hernando and the career of the former and her friend Justina come close to constituting a subplot. It is a very slender thread, however, and is climaxed in Act II by Hernando's acceptance of the illegitimate child and by the conversion not only of Andrea and Justina but of two of their former clients, Pedro and Montalvo.

As the reader will have seen from the summary above, though some of the humor of the play is provided by students in Alcalá, much of it is afforded by Francisco himself. The students' remarks and complaints are probably typical, dealing principally with either women or food. The fare at one table is criticized in these verses:

Ayer nos puso la madre,
por un regalo exquisito,
unas manos de cabrito
con más barbas que su padre.¹

¹Acad. V, 246.

A number of crudities appear in the lines written for the students, perhaps more than in any other play taken up in this study. Francisco also makes a rather crude remark about certain procedures and containers pertaining to the hospital. Generally, however, his dull wits and naïveté provide humor without bordering on the obscene. The vague directions he gives the traveller, his innocence concerning the dead warden, and his complete reversal of the physician's orders no doubt provided entertaining moments. An additional example of Francisco's unpredictability is seen in his conversation with the sacristan, when he affirms that he can manage the organ. "The keyboard?" asks the sacristan, enthusiastically. "No," replies Francisco, "the bellows."

The language of the students reveals that the author of El rústico del cielo knew both the topics and the jargon of students at Alcalá. Francisco's language is consistently appropriate for him; he seldom chooses long, elegant words. His prayers are simple both in sentiment and in expression, as may be seen from the little psalm of thanksgiving beginning "Gracias, gran Señor, os doy"¹ and in these lines, from Act I:

¡Mire que perdido estoy
en este suelo sentado,
que aunque a edad de hombre he llegado,
niño en la inocencia soy!²

His addressing everything from radishes to the king as "brother" is probably the chief reason that both Menéndez y Pelayo

¹Above, p. 258-259.

²Acad. V, 251.

and Vossler¹ have seen in the play a parody of part of the legend of St. Francis of Assisi.

¹Acad. V, xxxiv, and Lope de Vega y su tiempo, p. 351, respectively. The play is also described by Zamora Vicente, pp. 240-242. El Hermano Francisco is studied by Francis C. Hayes, "Lope de Vega and the Common Man," South Atlantic Studies for Sturgis E. Leavitt (Washington, D. C.: Scarecrow Press, 1953), pp. 75-76.

*Antonio

*Santo Domingo

Camilo

Jornada primera

Set in early fifteenth-century Italy, La devoción del rosario opens as Pedro Germán, a monk, praises God. Suddenly he sees a golden cloud bearing the figure of a pope. As the vision disappears, a captain and four soldiers enter, lamenting the passing of Pope Pius II. They consider him a great general, and fear that without his leadership the wars against the Turks are sure to take a turn for the worse. One of the soldiers, Antonio, decides that serving God is the only real security. Cosme, entering in time to hear Antonio's remark about being off to do a new kind of battle, reminds his friend that he has always helped him, whether it was to conquer a chicken for the pot or a girl for the bed. Antonio takes 120 lines to declare his purpose: to become a Dominican. It was the saintly Antonino who once told him about the order, and how the holy rosary, faithfully prayed, would lead one straight to the queen of heaven. Cosme elects to accompany Antonio.

In Tunis, Beceba, an alcaide, wishes to marry Rosa. Rosa asks her uncle, the Moorish king, to send Beceba on a mission during which his ardor might have time to cool. Soon Beceba leaves to do battle against the Italians and the Spaniards. The king now confesses to Rosa that he also is in love with her. So serious is he that he volunteers to remain Moorish in law but be Christian in marriage; that is, he is willing to have only one wife. There is a touch of violence as he takes hold of the girl; she frees herself and leaves.

Antonio and Cosme, now a friar and lay-brother, respectively, receive advice and instructions from Antonino, their prior, who is sending them with some letters to the prior of Messina in Sicily. Antonino's last admonition is that they pray the rosary daily; St. Dominic did so and taught so, and was probably praised by the Father himself. After Antonino has left, Antonio asks Cosme whether he took seriously the advice to pray the rosary daily. Cosme replies that he could stay awake a month to do that. But closer questioning reveals that each day Cosme falls asleep during his prayer.

Lucifer and Satan emerge. Lucifer offers details of his heavenly existence and his fall, through pride. But, he admits, although the cross is the key to heaven, he has kept many men from reaching there. A certain rosary, however, is tormenting him and keeping people from his clutches; he asks Satan which rosary it is, and who is responsible. Satan replies that it can be attributed to Dominic and his followers, and that Dominic has great influence with God: "le ha dado cuanto ha querido." Furthermore, one Antonino, archbishop of Florence, is waging successful battle against the forces of darkness. Lucifer, observing that women often feel most successful when they have won a man from another woman, declares his plan to win Antonio from St. Mary with the help of another woman.

Antonio and Cosme, along with two other passengers, Camilo and Marcela, are captured at sea by Beceba, Archima Amet, and Sultán. Cosme tries briefly to defend himself with an oar, but seeing that

he is outnumbered, decides that "es obedecer mejor que sacrificar."¹ Antonio submits with humility, blaming the experience on the twenty years he spent in frivolity. He does suggest to Cosme, however, that had Cosme prayed his rosary that day, this would not have happened. Beceba is about to have Antonio killed, but Lucifer, seeing that his martyrdom would take him straight to heaven, sends Satan to remind Beceba that no one brings a quicker ransom than a friar. The act ends as Antonio commends himself to the Virgin and Lucifer vows to lead him to perdition.

Jornada segunda

Archima Amet confides to Sultán that he has dreamed about Antonio almost every night. Even as he speaks, Lucifer suggests to Archima Amet that he press Antonio until he renounces his religion.

Sultán threatens Antonio, Cosme, and Marcela with death. With resignation, Antonio remarks that death would end their suffering. Cosme, however, loses patience and turns on Sultán with a stick. Aja, a Moorish girl, appears, asking whether the captives are men or beasts. Catching sight of Antonio, she is smitten with his appearance. After learning of Archima Amet's determination to make a Moor out of Antonio, she asks to be left alone for a while with the Christian captive. When Antonio learns that temptation is before him, he calls for help from the Virgin, hoping also for assistance from St. Dominic and from the prayers of the "heroico Antonino." Aja

¹I Sam. 15:22.

offers herself and much of her brother's kingdom to Antonio; but he declares that his rosary is sufficient in this hour of need. Lucifer leaves at once; the rosary turns to roses and Aja, taking hold of them, is severely burned. She leaves in haste, as Antonio thanks the Virgin for answered prayer.

Cosme announces that an ambassador from Genoa has requested that Antonio be allowed to move freely about the city. In gratitude, Antonio mentions his rosary, and asks whether Cosme has made his prayers that day. Cosme hedges, but finally admits that he broke his rosary and all the beads are lost; only the cross remains.

Beceba, back from his campaigns, comments on the cool reception given him by the king and by Rosa. Sensing the truth, he calls the king a tyrant and storms out of the palace.

Rosa is impressed with the behavior of Marcela, and asks her to become her secretary. And if she will become a Moslem, she can have a husband suiting her station. Marcela replies that though she knows many Christian captives do change, she has been profoundly influenced by a saintly Antonio, who advised her never to forget the Virgin and the power of her holy rosary. Lucifer seizes the occasion and causes Rosa to wish to meet Antonio.

The other captives are encouraged by Antonio, who exhorts them to be patient and remember that their sins are the cause of their present state. When he takes out the rosary given him by Antonino, Lucifer flees.

Aja asks Cosme to tell Antonio that since he will not become a Moslem, she will become a Christian, so that they can be married.

Cosme explains that Antonio cannot marry, that he would sooner die than lose his chastity, and that he is "un ángel en la tierra."

Aja then asks Cosme whether he can marry. Shouting "¡Tentación!" Cosme flees.

Antonio declares to Rosa that no human agency can cause him to renounce his vows, though her beauty has almost put him beside himself. Rosa offers herself to him, adding that since her uncle the king has lost his sons, Antonio could, by becoming her husband, have the kingdom. Antonio struggles within himself, quoting occasionally from the Jorge Manrique coplas, especially as to how "se viene la muerte tan callando." He takes off the rosary, remarking that it is tormenting him and that he wishes to embrace Rosa without it. Lucifer leaves to proclaim a fiesta in hell. While Antonio and Rosa are in each other's arms, an angel picks up the abandoned rosary.

Pedro Germán laments the loss of his rosary, which fell in the fire where he was warming himself. The angel who took Antonio's rosary appears and presents it to Pedro, explaining that it is sent for his consolation by the queen of the angels.

Antonio emerges, "de moro, muy galán," and with Rosa at his side. The king instructs all to bid him welcome. It is divulged that Marcela became a Moslem after learning that her admired one gave up his convictions. Cosme rails at Antonio for his betrayal of his holy vows and his rosary. Antonio ends the act with a final pang of conscience: "¡Qué rosas dejo para Rosa!"

Jornada tercera

Lucifer resolves to try now to win Cosme, though he realizes that the blind faith of unlettered lay brothers is hard to shake. Disguised as a captive, he mentions their bad luck to Cosme; but Cosme replies that since their lives are in God's hands, their luck is only good. Lucifer brightens things for the audience, who are "in" on his disguise, by making comments like "mi cautiverio es eterno." At last Cosme detects his identity, and determines to throw the rosary around Lucifer's neck. After much hedging and dodging, Lucifer flees, remarking that the rosary has blinded him. Cosme then describes his hopes to help Antonio be restored to grace.

The king of Tunis asks Antonio to translate the Koran, so that it will be accessible to Christians. Antonio, referring to the Septuagint and its wide influence, happily agrees. As he begins to read, St. Dominic is revealed, with St. Antonino at his knees, pleading with him to ask the Virgin to request a miracle from her Son to save Antonio. Both saints make reference to the divine rosary. Antonio, though unaware of the vision, suddenly breaks out in invective against the Koran and Mohammed. Repenting of his decision to become a Moslem, he asks for help from the Virgin and St. Dominic, and breaks down weeping. Lucifer and Auxilio Divino emerge from opposite sides of the stage, and argue over Antonio, Lucifer pointing out that Antonio abandoned the rosary for Rosa and Auxilio Divino maintaining that the rosary is efficacious with Mary, and that she can obtain much from God. As Lucifer leaves in defeat, Auxilio Divino asks Antonio to raise his

head so that God can see him weeping. Antonio confesses his crime: "Negué su nombre, fui traidor." But Auxilio Divino points out that Peter also denied Him, yet became founder of the Church. Antonio then wonders about his future; what will happen when the king discovers that he has become a Christian again? The answer given him is "breve tormento y gloria eterna." With resignation, Antonio says he adores such a death, "aunque es terrible trance." To encourage him, Auxilio Divino presents a vision of the Virgin of Atocha with a group of martyrs. Antonio asks her to do a miracle for the sake of her rosary. After the vision has disappeared, Cosme enters, amazed at the transformation in Antonio as he again confesses his denial of God and Mary and the rosary. Cosme has him repeat a long declaration of faith and they leave together, shouting, "¡Viva Cristo!"

Beceba saves the king from a lion and, as a result, is pardoned and promised great favors.

Rosa is stunned by the change in Antonio. Lucifer rages for a while, vowing that he will cause the king to have Antonio killed. But Antonio is resigned to martyrdom, and says so before the king. For a moment, the king and his attendants think that Antonio is satirizing the Christians. Seeing the truth, the king orders him stoned and burned. Rosa, who will soon be free, is promised to the now heroic Beceba. Marcela longs for such a martyrdom as that of Antonio, which is described to the audience by Cosme. Antonio, like St. Stephen, dies on his knees, uttering tenderesses about the Virgin and her Son, and asking the pardon of the other captives.

Other Christians later pick up the bloody stones and they become roses. Great miracles are expected after the burial of his body. The play ends with a vivid tableau: "Corran una cortina y aparece Nuestra Señora del Rosario con manto azul; más abajo, a los lados, los frailes que puedan, Dominicos, con rosarios al cuello, y alrededor de la Virgen un rosario grande, con rosas por Paternostres, y fray Antonio de rodillas, lleno de sangre, con un Cristo en la mano derecha y en la izquierda el rosario."¹

Observations

Identity of the Saints

The protagonist of La devoción del rosario, Antony Neyrot, was a native of Rivoli, in the diocese of Turin. He was captured by Moorish pirates and taken to Tunis, where he apostatized to Islam and married. After a few months he repented, put on his Dominican habit, publicly confessed Christ, and was stoned. His martyrdom occurred in 1460, and he was beatified under Clement XIII.²

St. Antoninus (1389-1459) was a Florentine. At an early age he was made prior of the Minerva in Rome. In 1436 he founded San Marco at Florence and in 1446, against his will, he was made archbishop of that city. Known as "protector of the poor" and the "people's prelate," he was canonized in 1523.³

¹N. Acad. II, 120.

²BkSts, pp. 61-62. Clement XIII was pope from 1758 to 1769.

³Ibid., pp. 59-60.

Peter de Geremia (1381-1452) was a native of Palermo. As a student of law at Bologna, he decided to join the Dominicans, and became one of the best known preachers and missionaries of his time. He was beatified in 1784.¹

St. Dominic de Guzmán (1170-1221) founded the highly successful Order of Priars Preachers, approved in 1216. St. Dominic died at Bologna, and was canonized only thirteen years later.²

Also appearing in the play, though she does not speak, is the Virgin Mary.³

Considering the two beati as saints for purposes of determining proportions, it is noted that there are in La devoción del rosario four male saints of the early part of the second millenium of the Christian era to one female saint of the New Testament period. Two of the five were founders and one was a martyr.

Qualities of the Saints

St. Mary, St. Dominic, and Peter de Geremia appear so briefly that a description of their saintly characteristics is not possible. It is noted, however, that even Satan praises Dominic, asserting that God gives him whatever he wishes.

St. Antoninus has only a minor role in the play, but one is able to observe his fidelity to the Dominican vows and practices.

¹BKSts, p. 471. Information given here neither supports (apart from his dates) nor refutes our identification of Pedro Germán with Peter de Geremia.

²Ibid., pp. 178-179.

³Ibid., pp. 406-407.

He recommends humility as a part of the ideal life, and admonishes Antonio and Cosme to pray their rosary every day. He points only to St. Dominic as a holy example--not to himself, it is noted, but not to Christ, either. Cosme gives a suggestion as to the saint's reputation by declaring that the good man practices what he preaches.

Antonio reveals humility and submission early in the play, blaming his captivity on the twenty years he wasted in sin. Humility is a jewel, he declares to Cosme. He gently reminds the other captives that their sins are to blame for their plight, but he nevertheless encourages them. His influence on Cosme and Marcela is marked; Marcela remains a Christian largely through her admiration of the saintly Antonio.

There is no reason to doubt that Antonio's repentance is genuine; he is contrite and submissive, weeping in sorrow for having denied his beliefs, and begging the forgiveness not only of God but also of the other Christian captives. His martyrdom is resigned and heroic, leading witnesses to compare him to St. Stephen.

Theology, Miracles, and Demonology

The emphasis on the power of the rosary in La devoción del rosario reduces the number of general doctrines mentioned. Several theological tenets are noted, however. Antonio suggests, early in Act II, that a good life is made better by suffering.¹ Twice he declares that misfortunes are the results of sins. Auxilio Divino

¹Cf. II Tim. 3:12.

tells Antonio that his weeping and contrition are efficacious, and that, though he has denied God a thousand times, he can be accepted because God's dealings with men are not conducted in terms of vengeance.¹

Cosme, finding Antonio in deep contrition and wishing to reaffirm his Christian convictions, has him repeat a declaration of faith which includes such points as the Trinity, the law, the creative power of God, the divinity of Christ, His conception by the Holy Ghost, and the perpetual virginity of Mary.

Given some emphasis in La devoción del rosario are details regarding the fall of the devil from heaven. In Act I Lucifer mentions that it was because of pride that his overthrow occurred. In Act II he again cites the fall, and later in the same act asserts that in heaven he was "luz, sol y aurora," but now "noche y tinieblas."² As in San Segundo, Lucifer and Satan have distinct identities in La devoción del rosario.

The ruling idea of the play is the efficacy and power of the rosary. Antonio cites St. Antoninus as teaching that faithful praying of the rosary leads one to salvation and, indeed, straight to the throne of the queen of heaven. It is suggested by St. Antoninus that St. Dominic's having said his rosary daily has something to do

¹Auxilio's request that Antonio raise his head so that God can see him weeping is somewhat puzzling; does not God see everything? On the doctrine of the forgiveness of God, see Chapter III, p. 97.

²Cf. Isa. 14:12-20 and Ezek. 28:12-19.

with his being praised by the Father himself, and Satan also mentions Dominic's influence with God. As the action of the play develops, the rosary is found to bring salvation, and to work miracles such as burning Aja, turning into roses, and blinding Lucifer. Inseparably related to the doctrine of the power of the rosary is that of Mary's influence with God. Antonio declares to the captives that she obtains from her Son whatever she wants,¹ and that her purity is greater than that of the angels and her beauty greater than all that is not God. The stress under which Antonio, about to be martyred, uttered this belief would reinforce its impact. Combining the suggestion that Mary can always be reached through the rosary with the doctrine of her never-failing influence with God, the dramatist evidently saw the rosary as an object of great power.

The only heresy attacked in La devoción del rosario is Islam, which is criticized rather superficially except for Antonio's third-act outburst against the Koran and Mohammed:

¡Qué loco estaba yo, Virgen María,
cuando dejé vuestro rosario santo
por una vil y deshonesto arpía!²

The miracles are these: Pedro Germán has a vision of the pope passing on a golden cloud to his reward; Lucifer is dispatched by the rosary; Aja is burned when, as Antonio's temptress, she touches the rosary; an angel descends to claim Antonio's cast-off rosary and to present it to Pedro Germán, who has accidentally

¹Cf. Chapter III, pp. 90-92.

²N. Acad. II, 117.

destroyed his; Lucifer is blinded by Cosme's rosary; as Antonio reads the Koran, the audience is given an impressive tableau portraying St. Antoninus pleading with St. Dominic to seek the Virgin's help for Antonio; Auxilio Divino is sent to minister to Antonio, and favors him with a vision of the Virgin of Atocha and a number of martyrs; the stones used to kill Antonio miraculously turn into roses; and the play ends with a spectacular scene involving Nuestra Señora del Rosario and a bloody Antonio.

Lucifer appears repeatedly throughout the play. In Act I, he discusses his fall with Satan, and they plot against Antonio. In Act II, Lucifer incites Archima Amet against Antonio, stirs Aja's passion for the friar, later stimulates Rosa's interest in him, and, seeing her triumph, leaves exultantly to proclaim a celebration in hell. In Act III, Lucifer attempts to gain a victory over Cosme, but is defeated by Cosme and his rosary. At the time of Antonio's repentance, Lucifer contests him against Auxilio Divino, and threatens heaven when he has to leave in defeat. Unlike many other plays, La devoción del rosario does not contain miracles performed by devils, nor do the demons make spectacular appearances.

The Play

Cotarelo y Mori suggests¹ that all we know about the source of La devoción del rosario is the author's statement in the fourth line from the end that St. Antoninus had written the story. Morley

¹Ibid., p. xvii.

and Bruerton date the play as "probably 1604-1606."¹ Cotarelo, however, points out that a reference to Philip IV would place the composition in 1621, if not later.² The location of the word "cuarto" in a long passage of verso de romance rhyming a - o makes it unlikely that the mention of "Felipe cuarto" was a later revision.

The play contains its share of spectacle: there are the visions of the deceased pope passing to heaven, the Virgin of Atocha surrounded by martyrs, and the Virgin of the Rosary with a blood-covered Antonio at her feet; an angel comes to claim Antonio's rosary; Lucifer appears frequently; and there are several miracles. Most of this spectacle, however, is fairly calm; there are no fireworks, no flaming entrances of devils, no noisy attacks by demons.

Humor is supplied by Cosme. His first appearance includes a crude remark about how he has always assisted Antonio with all of his conquests. When Antonio finishes his 120-line explanation of his decision to become a Dominican, Cosme says of his story,

Sin duda es buena,
pues que yo no me he dormido
siendo tan larga tu arenga.³

The rosary presents a real challenge to Cosme, who falls asleep before he can finish. His excuses are amusing; for example, he pleads that he contemplated so hard on Peter's falling asleep that he also

¹Morley and Bruerton, p. 272.

²N. Acad. II, 116, col. 2, note 2.

³Ibid., p. 94.

succumbed to drowsiness. Hunger, as with Bato and Tirso in the Isidro plays, is a pressing problem; one scene closes with this contrast between Antonio and Cosme:

Antonio: ¿Cuándo me veré, mi Dios,
 en vuestra santa presencia?
Cosme: Refitorio de Florencia,
 ¿cuándo me veré yo en vos?¹

Occasionally, a successful pun is found in Cosme's lines. When, for example, the Moorish pirates are capturing the Christian ship, one of the Moslems calls Cosme "pope." Cosme, wielding an oar in his defense, threatens, "Pues que me habéis hecho papa, yo os quiero hacer cardenales."² Cosme's efforts to throw his rosary around Lucifer's neck must also have pleased the audience.

The action of La devoción del rosario moves with as much logic and smoothness as one can expect in a comedia de santos. The role of Pedro Germán seems almost extraneous, but it does introduce a spectacular tableau at the outset, and later provides an opportunity to show the importance attached by heaven to the rosary. The two brief scenes in which Pedro appears do not stand as a subplot, however.

La devoción del rosario, in spite of its rather unusual emphasis on an object pertaining to worship, nevertheless reveals the usual saintly characteristics of meekness, humility, and martyrdom.

¹Ibid., p. 105.

²Ibid., p. 101.

San Isidro, labrador de Madrid
comedia famosa¹

First lines. Iván: Bien queda su soberbia castigada.
 Juan Ramírez: No volverán tan presto a nuestros muros.

Last lines. Juan: de tu Santo labrador
 la santa y notable historia.

CHARACTERS²

Iván de Vargas	Rodrigo
Don Juan Ramírez	Tres ángeles
Don Pedro de Luxán	Un sacristán
Doña Inés de Castilla	Bartolo
*Isidro	Tres muchachos, villanos
*María	Rubio y Morata, pobres
Juan de la Cabeza	Un soldado, pobre
Benito Preciado	Silvestra y Mariseca, pobres
Pascual de Valdemoro	Un mayordomo
María, Teresa y Constanza, labradoras	Un sacerdote
Esteban, Lorenzo y Tadeo	La Reina
Envidia, Demonio y Mentira	Ludovicio y Fernando
	El cura de San Andrés

¹Aguilar III, 352-381. Probably written between 1604 and 1606.

²Also speaking, but not listed, are Manzanares and Jarama, rivers. Asterisks mark the saints, though Mary de la Cabeza is a beata only, never having been canonized.

Acto primero

Set in twelfth-century Madrid, the play opens as Iván de Vargas, Juan de Ramírez, and Pedro de Luxán, just back from the battle, congratulate each other on the defeat of the Moors. They praise the Virgin of Atocha and the Virgin of Almudena, declaring that with such guardians, the city is safe.

Inés de Castilla, Iván's wife, greets him with dignity and affection. After Juan and Pedro leave, Isidro asks Ivan about the battle, adding that he prayed for them daily. He mentions that his grandfather used to tell how the Virgin of Atocha helped protect the wall in earlier times. After Isidro goes back to his duties, Iván and Inés praise his saintly qualities.

Later, Isidro asks Iván and Inés whether he may marry. He points out that he has no one to care for him and his cottage, and he is tired when he comes home from the fields. The girl he has in mind is virtuous, and her father is an honorable man. Her name is María de la Cabeza.

Juan de la Cabeza, María's father, expresses to Benito Preciado and Pascual de Valdemoro his regret at not having a greater dowry for Isidro. Pascual praises Isidro, mentioning his regular attendance at mass, his fasts, and his gifts to the poor. And his work is such that he receives a large wage: three reales a month in addition to board. Juan replies that María is like her mother, who was a saint.

On the occasion of the announcement of the wedding, María enters with other working girls from one side, Isidro with some

laborers from the other. They greet each other with complete modesty and restraint. When Constanza urges María to look up at her future husband, María declines, explaining that if it is God's will that she marry Isidro, God must already have looked at him. Juan begins to speak of the dowry, but Isidro interrupts to say that María's virtue is worth more than all the gold in Arabia. Juan says that among the thousand maravedís of gold and silver is an old coin which Isidro may want to keep; but if he does spend it, Juan would like for him to purchase a gentle ox. Isidro thanks him, but asks with more enthusiasm for Juan's blessing.

La Envidia, after describing how she fell on the wings of Satan from heaven, sows seeds of slander and distrust in a conversation about Isidro with Esteban, Lorenzo, and Tadeo. They immediately subscribe to her suggestions.

The marriage festivities begin with much music and dancing. Flowers are bestowed upon the couple by their friends.

Don Pedro de Luxán presents a captured Moorish flag to the Virgin of Almudena. Observing Isidro, he asks Rodrigo who that humble laborer is. Rodrigo mentions Isidro's saintly reputation, and how he always hears mass before going to the fields to work. Isidro, left alone in the church, offers in monologue a kind of amplified Ave María. Oblivious of his surroundings, Isidro rises and is not seen by the sacristan, who enters complaining that there has not been a funeral for a year, and that it looks as if death has gone abroad. Suddenly he spies the Moorish flag, and sees in it a number

of garments for himself; but just as he assures himself that no one else is present, Isidro asks whether there will be mass. He mentions that the flag is gaudy, but suggests that if it was gained in the name of the Virgin, it is rightfully at the altar. The sacristan concludes that this was a miracle and a lesson for him, and that no one should taken even the earth out of the temple.

Acto segundo

Esteban and Lorenzo tell Iván that Isidro is a "santo fingido" who goes to work sometimes at ten, sometimes at noon. Iván is dismayed, and concerned for his fields and crops. He is further disturbed on reaching Isidro's cottage to learn from María that Isidro is eating at such an hour rather than working. She explains, distaff and spindle in hand, that he leaves before dawn, but that it is to hear mass rather than to plow. Isidro, emerging, greets Iván with humility and respect. When Iván makes his complaints, Isidro merely suggests that he compute what he has lost and deduct it from his wages. Calmed by this mild answer, Iván goes to see the fields for himself. María tells Isidro that some one has a grudge against him, possibly because he does good work. But Isidro, saying that he is careless, suggests that the others see him going to church so much that they must naturally assume that his work goes undone. When María tries to get him to eat, Isidro reminds her that he never eats before praying. In his prayer, he asks God to temper Iván's anger, since he (Isidro) loses himself when in prayer and meditation.

Iván reaches the field and is angry that Isidro is not yet there. He tries to get the attention of Bartolo, in the mill; but he is singing so lustily that he does not hear his master. Constanza rushes out, Bartolo in pursuit, promising marriage, and insisting on an embrace. She threatens to throw flour on him, and when he persists, does so. Iván complains to Bartolo about Isidro, but Bartolo assures his master that Isidro is a saint, and that God more than makes up for whatever time he loses in worship.

Three angels inform Isidro that his simple prayers and charity have pleased God, and that He has sent them to do the plowing. When Iván arrives, he finds Isidro kneeling, a heavenly light around him. Iván concludes that the man is a saint, but that talking about it might embarrass him. He merely passes the time of day with his worker, and suggests, in view of the amount of plowing finished, that he go take a rest.

Esteban and Lorenzo, still full of the jealousy planted in them by Envidia, plot against Isidro. But Benito, Pascual, and Bartolo defend him vigorously, Benito declaring that he is not worthy to untie Isidro's shoes. Esteban and Lorenzo conclude that this whole affair was some kind of punishment from God.

In brief scenes, Bartolo goes to talk with Constanza so that their bans may be published the next day. La Envidia appears, disguised this time as a laborer, and complaining about how Isidro performs his duties even in the ice and snow. Isidro takes note of

the frozen, snow-covered earth, and feeds the birds.¹ Envidia accuses him of being disloyal to Iván, but Isidro replies that God gives to all of them, and the birds also are in His sight. If the prophet said He cares even for the ravens, and the Holy Spirit came down to Jordan in the form of a bird, why should they not be provided for?

The devil himself now appears, and Envidia complains to him about the saintliness of Isidro. The devil describes his plan to try Isidro's patience by having some unruly boys shout at him. The boys taunt him with a report that a wolf has eaten his donkey,² but Isidro refuses to be distracted until he has finished his prayers. Envidia and the devil rant as the donkey, which was torn to pieces, is miraculously restored.

The devil announces that he wishes to get back to town, for María has had a baby. Envidia, commenting on the saintliness of Isidro and María, expresses fear that the baby will be an Abel, and declares her dread of the mystical number three in such a family as that of Isidro.

Bartolo emerges with a plate of torrijas.³ Since there is not enough for the shepherds Tomás and Perote, Bartolo suggests that

¹More specific than usual, directions for scenery here call for "un árbol con algún algodón encima, que parezca nevado, y unas palomas en él."--Aguilar III, 368.

²There is an episode similar to this in La juventud de San Isidro.

³Pieces of bread dipped in egg with milk and fried.

he who tells the best dream will win the last torrija. Bartolo makes his dream fit the occasion, quickly judges it as the best, and downs the torrija.

Isidro gives thanks, promising that the baby belongs to God.

In the final scene of Act II, the shepherd Perote has revenge on Bartolo. He cleverly brandishes a flute until Bartolo begs to play it; but when he begins to blow, he gets a face full of soot.¹

Acto tercero

Iván de Vargas complains to Isidro of the drought, and hints about miracles. Isidro strikes on a rock with his goad, and water flows forth. Iván calls him a second Moses, but Isidro attributes it to faith.

The devil and Envidia reappear, spying about and wondering what God's purpose is in giving them so many defeats, especially when Satan is, as Envidia puts it, "ya moro muerto." The devil has another plan, however; he will spread word that María, who has gone to live in seclusion near the river Jarama so that she and Isidro might be chaste, is having affairs with the local shepherds.²

A group gathers for distribution of food. A mayordomo declares that there is only enough for one person; Isidro promises that if there is enough for him, there is enough for all. Isidro

¹La niñez de San Isidro contains a slapstick scene similar to this one.

²This episode appears also in La juventud de San Isidro, where the floating cloak is taken as evidence of Maria's innocence.

takes all the poor ones inside with him, and from a cofrade we learn that as soon as he pronounced a blessing, there was food for all with six baskets left over. In the famous echo sonnet,¹ Isidro offers thanks and expresses his concern for the poor. This done, he is amazed to hear the devil, Envidia, and Mentira, disguised as workers, slandering María. Mentioning her saintly customs, he blames his own errors for her present mistakes. Invoking the help of the Virgin, he sets out to reprimand María. But an angel warns her of the slander and of Isidro's approach. When Isidro calls to her from the other bank of the river, María stands on her cloak and it bears her across the water. The devil, seeing his hopes dissolve, complains about María and about the very name, which is, he says, a sea in which he is sinking. Isidro and María promise to pray for each other; then, remembering that he does not have Iván's permission to be away from his work, Isidro leaves. The devil growls that they will both go to heaven because of their innocence.

Bartolo, Constanza, Teresa, Lorenzo, Esteban, and other shepherds approach with a cross, in an annual procession. From the river two apparitions rise; they are Manzanares and Jarama,² and they ask that their prophecies be heard. Manzanares announces that Madrid is

¹Aguilar III, 375.

²The directions are: "Del río, que está hecho, se levanten MANZANARES, con barba y cabellera, y JARAMA, con unos cabellos rojos, de cáñamo, hasta los pies, en forma de mujer." Angels would have been more appropriate; did Lope feel that this spectacle was needed to please the audience?

so fortunate that heaven envies her and is taking one of her prizes: Isidro has gone to reign with God. Jarama explains that they were kept from attending the saint's death because of their tender tears. The festivities surrounding the saint's canonization are predicted. The group of shepherds decides to take flowers and pay their respects; and Lorenzo and Esteban express contrite repentance for their slander.

Envidia complains because the devil is calling her to Madrid yet another time. The devil mentions his fall, through his pride and desire to be equal with God. He orders Envidia to skip over forty years; she does so, and is staggered to see Isidro's remains being placed in a tomb next to that of San Andrés. Then she and the devil snarl because an angel comes down every Saturday to care for the light that burns constantly near the saint.¹

Juan, a priest, cuts a bit of the saint's hair, to keep as a relic. But immediately he is in great pain, with a sensation of being choked. He urgently begs the saint's pardon.

Two servants of the king come in, one of them complaining about a mere farmer doing miracles. Envidia prompts him to ascribe the miracles to vulgar opinions. Suddenly his tongue and mouth are burning unbearably, and he has to approach the saint for help.

Doña Juana, wife of King Henry II, wishes to honor the saint. She kneels and declares that although she is a queen, she is humble

¹The transfer of Isidro's remains and the descent of the angel who cares for the lamp are enacted on another part of the stage while Envidia and the devil converse.

and sinful, and wishes to take only a finger, which she will encase in diamonds and wear about her neck. But when she prepares to leave, she cannot ascend the stairs. Juan, the priest, advises her to return to the saint that which she has taken. The play ends as she does so, asking Isidro's pardon.

Observations

Identity of the Saints

St. Isidore the Farmer died in 1170. He spent his whole life working in the fields on an estate just outside the city. He was married to Mary de la Cabeza. Canonized in 1622, St. Isidore is venerated as the patron of Madrid.¹

Bl. Mary de la Cabeza died about 1175. A native of Torrejón, after St. Isidore's death she retired to Caraciz. Her cult was approved in 1697.²

There being no other saints in the play, the proportions among the saints are quickly seen: one woman to one man; two historical personages to none Biblical or legendary; one patron; no martyrs.

Qualities of the Saints

To an unusual extent, San Isidro, labrador de Madrid contains praise of the saint--indeed, downright insistence on his saintliness--

¹BkSts, p. 309. St. Isidore's wife is here called, erroneously "St. Mary de la Cabeza."

²Ibid., p. 408.

in the speeches of other characters. Early in Act I, Isidro's master and his wife call him a good man, virtuous, esteemed, unequalled by any other worker. Pascual de Valdemoro gives us further description of Isidro's reputation when he tells Juan de la Cabeza that Isidro will make a son-in-law any one could envy; that he is first at the church door every morning; that he never goes to the fields without praying; and that, as for fasting and giving to the poor, he is surprising. Don Pedro Luxán, commenting on Isidro's humility and moderation, is told by Rodrigo that "gran fama de santo tiene." In Act II, Bartolo agrees with this evaluation of Isidro's reputation; to the complaining Ivan he says, "Calle, que es Isidro un santo." Even an angel praises Isidro, citing specifically his simple prayers and wise charity. Pascual offers high praise of the saint when he exclaims, "Would that God had made me like him!" Envidia complains that she is always defeated by the "villana simpleza" and the "soberana humildad" of Isidro; "¡qué alma tan encendida!" she declares. At the outset of Act III, Ivan calls Isidro a "santísimo varón" whose miracles are signs of perfection. The devil praises both Isidro and María, saying that their innocence will take them to heaven, and that they have the knack of "creer bien y obrar mejor."

María's reputation is also held in high esteem by Isidro, who declares that her virtue is worth more than all the gold in Arabia. Envidia calls her saintly and blessed, and Mentira says her saintliness is notable.

The actions and words of the saints in this play also reveal much about them. María's modesty when in the company of her future husband is emphasized, and we take note of her faith that God's hand is in their marriage. Later, she calmly submits to her husband's wishes with regard to the separation he desires for the sake of chastity. The one request she makes of him is an interest in his prayers. Isidro is just as modest and restrained around his bride-to-be as she herself is. He is tactful but effective in his reprimand of the sacristan. When Iván accuses him of neglecting his duty, Isidro is calm, humble, and practical. He is able to do miracles such as bringing water out of a rock and multiplying food for the poor. His meekness and humility are made manifest in his reception of Iván's accusation, his protests before the three angels who plow for him, and his complete lack of pride.

An unusual number of attitudes may be assessed in San Isidro. We are struck early in Act I by his approval of "holy war," when he expresses the hope that Iván has killed many Moors. He has a great admiration for virtue, declaring that it is better than gold and is the key to peace. He finds God in nature, and is concerned when animals are in want or pain. For his little son he gives thanks, and dedicates him to God. Faith is seen by the saint as the guarantee of every good thing. When his wife asks about "the ladies," Isidro easily assumes she is referring to the Virgins of Atocha and Almudena. He covets the prayers of his wife. He believes in secret alms, "que

la limosna callando mucho a los cielos provoca."¹ It is hoped that reward is not the main motivation, however.

Theology, Miracles, and Demonology

Several doctrines of the church are mentioned in San Isidro, labrador de Madrid. The fall of Satan is described briefly by Envidia in Act I; the perpetual virginity of Mary is insisted on by St. Isidore, also in Act I; the mystery of the Triune God is mentioned by Isidore and by Envidia in Act II; the dependence of salvation upon the Virgin Mary is indicated by María, who declares that no one would reach heaven without her; and the River Manzanares, in the role of a seer, by asserting that Isidro has gone to reign with God, upholds the doctrine of the immortality of the soul and exemplifies the medieval idea of death as the door to true life, eternity with God.

No heresies are attacked in the play except the belief of the Moslems, in Isidro's expression of hope that many Moors have been killed. As a theological system, however, even Islam goes without mention.

Miracles include the heavenly light around Isidro as he prays, the three angels' plowing of the field, the surprising restoration to life of Isidro's donkey, the saint's obtaining water from a rock, the appearance of an angel to María to warn her of the calumny about her, María's miraculous river passage on her cloak, the descent of an angel to light a lamp at Isidro's tomb, and the pointed punishments suffered

¹Aguilar III, 368.

by the three individuals who try to detract, by word or deed, from the remains of the dead saint. From the lines of other characters we learn also about the surprising expansion of a loaf, a bit of beef, some wine, and an apple into fare for a crowd, with six baskets remaining. The rather grotesque personifications of the rivers Manzanares and Jarama might also be considered miraculous.¹

La Envidia makes the first demonic appearance; dressed in a repulsive fashion she states her intention to ruin Isidro. Later, she appears disguised as a laborer. In Act II, the devil himself puts in an appearance, possibly because Envidia does not seem to be having any success in his campaign against Isidro. The devil destroys Isidro's mule and incites a group of boys to shout at the saint. La Mentira joins them in the slander against María; and at the end of the play, the devil and Envidia call up scenes involving the career of the remains of St. Isidore.

The Play

The immediate source of the three plays on San Isidro was, according to Sainz y Robles,² Lope's own poem, Isidro, the inspiration for which may be traced to the thirteenth-century Vida y milagros de San Isidro of the diácono Juan. Lope also leaned on certain information given him by fray Domingo de Mendoza.³ San Isidro, labrador de

¹See above, p. 289.

²Aguilar III, 329.

³Ibid. See titles of late sixteenth-century works on San Isidro in Appendix D.

Madrid was probably written between 1604 and 1606; the other two plays, La niñez de San Isidro and La juventud de San Isidro, each with only two acts and a loa, were written for the occasion of the saint's canonization in 1622. If we define "trilogy" strictly as "a series of three plays,"¹ we shall have to take issue with Arco y Garay² and Sainz de Robles,³ both of whom call the three plays a trilogy. There is a substantial amount of duplication in the two later plays, not particularly in the verses, but in the episodes. The reader is referred to the summaries of La niñez de San Isidro and La juventud de San Isidro.

From an early period, San Isidro had been regarded as patron and friend of the whole area around Madrid. But in 1598 real honor came to him. In that year, Philip III was dangerously ill at a nearby village. The remains of St. Isidore were sent out in procession in an effort to avert the impending calamity, and the king's recovery made the saint widely fashionable. Lope seized the occasion to write his long poem, Isidro; and a few years later, the drama appeared. Incidentally, the saint's beatification in 1620 and his canonization in 1622 were largely due to the efforts of Philip III, who believed he owed his life to the farmer of Madrid.⁴

¹Webster's Collegiate Dictionary. (Italics added.)

²"Lope de Vega," Historia general, III, 246.

³Aguilar III, 307.

⁴See Ticknor, pp. 195-198 and 210-213.

Though comedias de santos are sometimes hardly more than a series of unrelated episodes or even mere scenes from the saints' lives, there is some continuity and development in the plot of San Isidro, labrador de Madrid. The ending, however, as described by the grotesque personifications of the rivers and by the devil and Envidia, seems weak in comparison to the natural, spontaneous quality of the rest of the play.

Humor is successfully interwoven throughout, beginning with the affair of the sacristan and the flag in Act I and continuing mainly in the person of Bartolo. Bartolo's sooty flute and the flour bath given him by Constanza verge on slapstick; but there are no obscenities in the play.

In addition to the comic scenes, there is much of the spectacular in the miracles and in the appearances of angels, devils, abstract evils, and personified rivers. The striking appearance of the two rivers has been cited;¹ and when Envidia first appears, she is described as wearing a heart on her breast and a serpent about her shoulders.² These effects bring San Isidro, labrador de Madrid close to the status of a comedia de magia.

But through it all, the saintly reputation of Isidro, with his humility, chastity, miracles, and gentle submission, is repeatedly made manifest.

¹Above, p. 289.

²Aguilar III, 357.

In addition to the studies on Lope's works about San Isidro already cited under the title of San Isidro, labrador are commentaries in Astrana Marín¹ and Arturo del Hoyo Martínez,² and a study by Timoteo Rojo Orcajo.³

¹Pp. 277-282.

²"Lope y su amor a Isidro," Revista de estudios hispánicos, VIII (August, 1935), 203-214. (This article is concerned primarily with the poem.)

³Las fuentes históricas de "El Isidro" de Lope de Vega (Madrid: Tipografía Católica, 1935). (This book, originally a conferencia, is concerned mainly with the poem.)

Juan de Dios y Antón Martín, comedia famosa¹

First lines.	Labrador:	¿Tú soldado?
	Juan:	Yo soldado.
	Labrador:	¿Qué dices?
		Lo que has oído.
Last lines.	Antón:	porque a su autor le parece que aquí la primera se acabe.

CHARACTERS²

*Juan de Dios	Marín, soldado	El padre de Velasco
Un labrador	Don Luis	Salvatierra
Un capitán	Antón Martín	Torrijos
Mendoza	Dos ciudadanos	Serón
Calahorra	Dos damas	Portillo
Leonor	Un caballero	Pobres y muchachos
El Conde de Oropesa	Su criado	Dos ángeles
El Duque de Alba	Dos niños	El Marqués de Tarifa
Un general francés	Un loquero	Un veinticuatro
Doña María	Un rector	Un paje
Isabel, esclava	Dos o tres locos ³	El demonio
Velasco, gentilhomme	Un caballero de Granada	Un doctor
Pedro Martín, hidalgo	Un procurador	

¹Aguilar III, 416-453. Probably written between 1604 and 1610.

²The saint is marked by an asterisk.

³The list of characters in Aguilar III ends with "Dos o tres locos." All those characters who follow here appear in Acts II and III of the play, but are not listed in the Aguilar edition. They are here placed in the order of their appearance.

Un criado	Tres o cuatro mujeres	Doña Elvira
Una mujer	Una mujer	Doña Beatriz
El padre de las mujeres públicas	Sebastián	Dos músicos
Un mozo	Doña Ana Osorio	Finardo
Don Rodrigo	Unos criados	Riselo
Doña Inés	El hermano Pedro	Feniso
Doña Juana	El Arzobispo de Granada	Un enfermo
La Otáñez	El Rey Felipe	Tres enfermos
Godínez, rufián	Hernando de Somontes	Una mujer
La fraila	Francisco, estudiante	Otro enfermo
Capote, rufián	Don Luis	La Caridad
	Don Alfonso	Niño Jesús

Acto primero

Juan, a shepherd, tells his overseer that he has decided to join the forces of Charles V against the French. When the mayoral objects, Juan asks,

mas ¿cuál es más justa ley,
serviros a vos o al Rey?¹

The man sees the light and wishes Juan well as he leaves.

In a brief scene, the count inspects some troops, which include Calahorra, Mendoza, and Leonor. Leonor is in a man's uniform, complete with gun. After the departure of the count, Juan asks to enlist. The captain tries to persuade Leonor that she does not

¹Aguilar III, 416.

belong in battle; at last she consents to allow the newcomer to carry her weapons, but only while marching.

María, a lady of Riquena, accompanied by her maid, is visited by Velasco. Moments later they are joined by Pedro Martín, who fails to see Velasco. Velasco is therefore offended, and the two men leave in a huff, resolved to have it out with cudgels.

Juan, left by the captain to guard some jewels taken as spoils, addresses his God in a soliloquy, wondering why any one is in battle when there are so many things within oneself to fight. He prays that God will show him the way to do His will. Calahorra persuades Juan to do his patriotic duty by joining in the fray; shortly afterwards, Calahorra quietly returns and steals the jewels.

In a very brief scene, the French general and a captain bewail their defeat by the Spanish forces.

When Juan cannot produce the jewels, the captain and other soldiers decide to hang him. Juan protests with calm and resignation that he is innocent, and ascribes the ordeal to the will of God. The Duke of Alba appears, barely in time to save Juan by ordering more lenient treatment. Juan decides that since God has saved his life, he will dedicate it to His service.

Pedro Martín is reprimanded by his brother Antón concerning the affair of the cudgeling. It is good to have honor, Antón maintains, but not when one allows it to absorb him completely. There is no offense, he declares, which deserves cudgels. Pedro asks what being told one is a liar does deserve. Kill him, is the surprising

answer of Antón; if one wounds another, they can patch the thing up and be friends, but there is no restitution for a cudgeling.

Juan prays for guidance, lamenting his uncertainty and limitations. A divine voice directs, "Juan, levanta." Juan responds immediately, willing to obey. A child now enters, described in the stage directions as "un Niño de peregrino, con una granada como mundo." Juan wishes his shoes would fit the boy, and asks how his mother let him get away. The lad replies that she did lose him one day, but not today. Juan then asks whether he may carry the boy on his back.¹ The child accepts, and calls his bearer "Juan de Dios." Juan declares that he will never use any other name. They decide to share the pomegranate, and find in its center a cross. After instructing Juan to go to Granada to minister to the poor, the child disappears. Juan pledges obedience, and ends his prayer with a humble note:

Vos sois verdad, vida y luz;
yo polvo, yo viento y nada.²

Calahorra tries to obtain some money from the captain, but without success. He decides to resort to the lame arm and leg trick.

Now in Granada, Juan asserts that the cross he is bearing is light. He mentions the divine law, and then declares that it was not the statutes but the law of grace that His love wrote in blood on the Cross. Having heard many favorable comments on the saintly preaching of Juan de Avila, Juan leaves two boys in charge of the books and

¹Cf. the legend of St. Christopher. The pomegranate (Spanish granada) is symbolic of Juan's mission to the province of that name.

²Aguilar III, 424.

ballads that he now sells for a living, and goes to hear the sermon. He returns under great conviction of his unworthiness, and admonishes the boys to burn the worldly books and follow the advice of the saintly ones. Juan makes remarks like "Lodo soy, ceniza he sido, y polvo tengo de ser" to the extent that a nearby attendant for the insane becomes convinced that Juan should go with him. Juan de Dios is taken away.

Acto segundo

Antón Martín is determined to see Velasco hanged for the slaying of Antón's brother Pedro. The pleas for pardon from Velasco's aged father do no good. A gentleman from Granada, after Antón has left, tells the aged man that he can offer one hope: the influence of Juan de Dios. He takes 123 lines to tell how Juan's penitence took such a form that he was taken for insane; then, his "santidad e inocencia" coming to the attention of the authorities, he was released and has begun inspired works. He rented a house and began to care for the poor and sick. His simple requests from door to door have brought in all the money, clothing, and food he needs. Some well-to-do persons bought a house for him, where he now cares for 300 persons! Yet he sleeps on a mat with a rock for a pillow. If any one can win pardon from Antón, Juan can,

porque Dios en Juan de Dios
ha puesto tanta excelencia,
que son sellos sus palabras
y los corazones cera.¹

¹Ibid., p. 429.

Juan approaches Antón with a declaration that Antón has slain Christ no less treacherously than Velasco has slain Pedro; and since He on the cross asked for pardon for those who slew Him, we become His enemies unless we do likewise. Juan also points Antón to the "Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors" portion of the Lord's Prayer. Confronted with a crucifix, Antón gives up and affirms that he can see hell awaiting him unless he imitates Christ. Antón and Velasco's father humbly make their peace.

Calahorra, joining a group of poor persons waiting to be fed by Juan de Dios, is not impressed by their praise of Juan's virtue and example. Soon there is a lively exchange of name-calling. When Juan appears, Calahorra recognizes him as the one who almost lost his life because of Calahorra's theft of the jewels. Juan forgives him and refuses to discuss the matter, whereupon Calahorra concludes that the man is, indeed, a saint. But when the food gives out just as his turn comes, he ascribes his empty plate to a stealthy revenge on Juan's part. Juan prays simply:

Señor, sustento faltó:
abrid vuestra santa mano.¹

Music is heard, and two angels descend with a white basket of bread. Calahorra decides to take vows and don the habit; but Juan wishes first to examine him: Has he confessed? Does he have a rosary?

The Marqués de Tarifa and two friends are playing cards. It is announced that Juan de Dios is at the door, and the three men

¹Ibid., p. 431.

discuss his saintly reputation as the marquis sends him a hundred escudos. The marquis then resolves to prove the man.

The devil describes his fall from heaven, and his deception of a third of the angels. He complains about Domingo de Guzmán, Francisco, Benito, Agustín, Bernardo, and Bruno, but especially about this unlettered Juan. He decides to pit his understanding against Juan's ignorance.

The marquis, disguised, asks alms of Juan, explaining that he lost all in a gamble, and is dying of hunger. Juan replies that the Marqués de Tarifa just gave him a hundred escudos, and invites him to take and eat. The marquis concludes that Juan's charity is indeed genuine.

The next alms-seeker is the devil in disguise. Juan tries several times to make the stranger ask "por Dios," but he refuses. The devil, exasperated with Juan's insistence, knocks him down. There follows another contest of name-calling, in which the devil is described as "bellaco negro, tizado, rebelde a Dios, . . . calabaza frita en el fuego infernal."¹ Juan drives him away with a crucifix.

A woman enters demanding, "Arrástrenme." Juan tells her she has not confessed for six years, and sends her to do so.

The marquis asks Juan why he gave the strange man a hundred escudos. Juan replies that the man seemed honorable and asked for them, so he could do nothing else. The marquis confesses that it was he all along, and sends a messenger to fetch five hundred instead of

¹Ibid., p. 435.

the one hundred. He also promises 150 loaves of bread, four calves, and eight or ten hens. Juan expresses his thanks sincerely but briefly and asks permission to return to his work.

Calahorra and Antón state their suspicion that Juan has some kind of prophetic vision, since he knew the trouble with that woman now gone to confession.

There is a great clatter as, suspended above the stage, the devil pounds Juan de Dios. Antón and Calahorra run to Juan's rescue.

Brief scenes give insight into life among "las mujeres públicas" and several rufianes. Calahorra accosts them with remarks about "sucia gente" and "hermanas desolladas." Naturally, they take offense and a third bout of name-calling begins. Juan de Dios and Antón Martín enter, and Juan offers a sermon dealing with honor, shame, conscience--and hellfire. He warns them of eternal separation from God, and points them to the Father, the humble Son, the "santo Espíritu Santo," and the "divina Virgen bella." He produces a crucifix and asks whether it is possible that His blood was shed, that His arms are open in vain. The women repent and promise a changed life.

Acto tercero

Juan admits that he is sick. He asks Calahorra to knock at a certain house. The woman within has to conceal her caller, Sebastián, before answering the door. Juan chides her for sharing the food he gives her with some one who does not deserve it. Sebastián is so impressed that he decides to become a religious.

News comes that Charles V has passed the crown to Philip. Juan instructs Antón to go to Madrid and ask the new king for help for the hospital. Antón has several lines of adulation for the "príncipe tan prudente, tan católico y tan santo."¹ It is decided that Antón will be accompanied to Madrid by Calahorra, who paints a grim picture of the artificiality and unpleasantness of courtly life.

Doña Ana Osorio laments Juan's state of health. A brief scene presents Juan de Dios on his mat and stone, with a skull in his hands, to which he says, "Cerca estoy de parecerte . . ."² In order to convince him that he should go to her home for proper care, dona Ana has to point out that shortening his life will do his poor, dependent friends no good.

The devil rants about the saintliness of Juan de Dios, successful even against him whose knowledge enabled him to oppose God. Neither with blows nor with the temptations of a woman has the devil been able to weaken the saintly man. Now God is about to reward him.

Juan de Dios is next seen on his knees before the archbishop, expressing three concerns: the shortcomings of his service to God, the care of his poor friends, and his debts. The archbishop recommends that Juan trust in Christ and His blood, and affirms that he himself will care for the unfortunate ones and assume the debts. Juan commends his soul to God and dies. The devil raves in defeat,

¹Ibid., p. 442.

²Ibid.

and onlookers wonder how it is that the saint remains on his knees even though growing cold.

The devil decides to pursue Antón in Madrid. In a brief piece of pageantry, young King Philip passes, attended by the Duke of Alba and others. Antón is told by the king that he can take five hundred ducados for the hospital; Antón promises prayers and disciplinas for the king.

It is learned through conversation among Antón, Hernando de Somontes, and Francisco, a student, that a hospital has been founded in Madrid.

Two gentlemen and two ladies dining together, provided with music by Finardo and others, discuss the saintly qualities of Antón, whom they see asking donations. But when they see Calahorra, another exchange of name-calling begins, Beatriz calling Calahorra "cara de ungüento egipciaco," and Calahorra replying that she and Elvira are "señoras tollas."¹ He leaves them after a little sermon on how they are serving neither their God nor their king.

Brother Pedro, on the return of Calahorra and Antón, describes Juan's funeral, which was a thing of great pomp and miraculous events. Pedro ends his remarks with a declaration that Antón is imitating their master, Juan de Dios.

Calahorra enters with two new patients, a man and a woman. The man, who is the devil in disguise, refuses to go to confession.

¹Ibid., p. 447. Tolla is translated as "spotted dogfish."

Antón asserts that he cannot be admitted to the hospital until he confesses. In an effort to anger Antón, the devil now claims to be Velasco; but Antón addresses him as brother and asks to embrace him. While Antón is out of the room, the devil tells the woman that if she really wants to succeed with Antón, and be cured of her disease, she should offer herself to him. She does so as soon as Antón returns; but he asks how her confession could have meant so little and orders Calahorra to lead her out of the house. Hearing her explanation that the man prompted her to make this invitation, Antón admonishes her to be less quick to judge ill of a saint. The devil gives up in despair. As he leaves, a curtain is drawn to reveal a personification of charity, with poor ones and children below; a Child Jesus and Juan de Dios are joined by red ribbons to Caridad. Antón asks Juan for help, but for the hospital rather than for himself. Juan reassures him, and reminds him to care for the destitute ones. The play ends with the promise of a second part.

Observations

Identity of the Saints

St. John of God (1495-1550) was born in the diocese of Evora, in Portugal. For the first forty years of his life, he followed various vocations--shepherd, soldier, peddler, superintendent of slaves in Morocco, and vendor of religious books near Gibraltar. "He was led to a more perfect life by a sermon of Bl. John of Avila, but the fervor of his conversion produced in him such extravagant

behavior that he was taken for a madman." In 1340, at Granada, he founded a hospital which was the beginning of the new Order of Brothers Hospitallers, or Brothers of St. John of God, which still exists in Latin countries. St. John was canonized in 1690, and in 1886 he was declared patron of the sick and of hospitals.¹ He is also known as patron of booksellers, printers, and nurses.²

Antón Martín does not appear in The Book of Saints, even though he is called St. John's "venerable compañero y discípulo" and founded the hospital known by his name in Madrid.³ This play, then, offers one historical saint who is both a founder and a patron.

Qualities of the Saint

Early in the play, a saintly calm and resignation are seen in Juan de Dios, even when he is about to be hanged. Later, under the conviction that God has saved his life, he resolves to dedicate his life to Him. The prayers of Juan de Dios reveal humility and dependence on God; and when a supernatural voice addresses him, like Samuel of old he is immediately ready to obey: "Veis aquí a Juan: ¿qué mandáis?"⁴ He is comparable to St. Christopher in the compassion and assistance he offers to the young pilgrim, who, unknown to Juan, is Christ in disguise. Toward the end of Act I, when he is converted by the preaching of Juan de Avila, his

¹BkSts, p. 324.

²Wedge, pp. 54, 60-61.

³Menéndez y Pelayo, Estudios, II, 80.

⁴Aguilar III, 423.

penitential acts are so extreme that he is taken for insane; in Act II, it is learned that his saintliness and innocence were soon noticed and he was released. A gentleman of Granada describes Juan's saintly reputation, and terms his excellent qualities a gift of God. Juan is not blindly idealistic; when Calahorra professes sudden conversion, Juan questions him carefully. But he forgives Calahorra without hesitation, leaving to the past the fact that Calahorra very nearly caused his death. Juan de Dios is trustful of others, as shown when he quickly responds to the disguised marquis' plea for alms. He does not seek sensationalism of any sort; when a doctor happens to pass after the devil has attacked Juan, the saintly man says merely that some one tried to rob him. At the end of the play, even though near death, Juan displays a commendable concern for the poor persons who depend on him, and for the debts he has incurred in caring for them. All in all, the saintly qualities of Juan de Dios are such that even the devil praises him:

Su valor me maravilla:
 no le he podido vencer
 con ser un hombre ignorante,
 y yo tan grande estudiante,
 que a Dios me pude oponer.

 Pero es Juan de Dios, en fin.¹

Among the attitudes of Juan de Dios are noted a clear view of duty to the king as above duty to one's employer, and a deep and abiding conviction that a forgiving spirit is a necessary part of the perfect life. He preaches eloquently and successfully on

¹Ibid., p. 443.

forgiveness to Antón Martín, and he himself, the moment he sees him, forgives the man who almost caused his death, and immediately dismisses the subject. Attributing to God his escape from the hanging, Juan willingly dedicates his life to the service of God. Hard work is among Juan's attributes; when the marquis promises five hundred escudos and many loaves, calves, and hens, Juan expresses his thanks sincerely but simply, and then, instead of lingering with remarks of adulation, he asks permission to return to his work. From doña Ana Osorio it is learned that, sick or not, Juan continues his work; and his last request is that those for whom he has worked be cared for after his death.

Humility, as is often the case, is the most emphasized quality of San Juan de Dios. His prayers are marked by humility and submission; he calls himself "polvo, viento y nada," mud and ashes, and a worm, ignorance, and evil. His humility, it must be observed, was not for show; he tells Antón and Velasco's father that worldly rituals of humility are vanity.

The life of Antón Martín, who was perhaps considered a saint by the dramatist, is, after his conversion, marked by lack of concern for himself, willingness to forgive his brother's slayer, and--as we see, for example, in his calling himself the least in the whole hospital--humility. Twice he is compared to San Juan de Dios; and one of the ways he resembles him is his energetic manner of managing the hospital and securing support for it.

Both Juan de Dios and Antón Martín seem secure in their relationship to women. Juan lectures some women of questionable pursuits,

exhorting them to heed their consciences, remember that their souls are in the image of God, and strive that Christ's blood be not shed for them in vain. Yet he felt compassion toward them, calling them "las hermanitas olvidadas," explaining in answer to Calahorra's question that "de Dios se olvidan." When Juan is taken sick, doña Ana de Osorio takes him to her home to recover, his only hesitancy being that he does not wish to leave his duties. Later, the devil asserts that he has tried, but in vain, to tempt Juan with feminine charms. After the death of Juan, the devil deceives a woman into trying to seduce Antón Martín. The good man's refusal is immediate and unmistakable; indeed, he directs that she be removed from the premises.

Theology, Miracles, and Demonology

Points of doctrine common to other comedias de santos are the role of Mary as "madre y abogada nuestra,"¹ a description of Satan's fall from heaven,² and the idea that weeping and penitence result in divine pardon:

Mujer: Yo espero lavar con llanto
y penitencia mi culpa.

Juan: Con eso hallará disculpa
en aquel Tribunal Santo.³

Points of doctrine not frequently mentioned thus far in our chronological consideration of the comedias de santos of Lope de

¹Ibid., p. 440.

²Ibid., p. 433.

³Ibid., p. 441. Cf. La devoción del rosario, above.

Vega are found in Juan's declaration that the law of grace was inscribed in blood on the Cross; his sermon on the importance of shame, honor, and conscience; the devil's reference to the first messianic prophecy;¹ and Juan's exhortation, by word and action, that men forgive their enemies.

The only heresy attacked is Lutheranism, and that only in passing, when a rebellious woman, because Calahorra won't obey her, angrily calls him "luterano."²

Miracles in Juan de Dios y Antón Martín begin when a divine voice answers Juan's Act I prayer for guidance. The Christ Child appears to Juan as a pilgrim, and is carried on the saint's back in a way similar to the legend of St. Christopher; they share a pomegranate, symbolic of Granada, and find a cross inside the fruit. In answer to Juan's simple plea when food supplies are exhausted, two angels bring bread. Brother Pedro asserts, but without elaboration, that miracles attended the funeral of Juan de Dios. At the end of the play, there is a spectacular manifestation by Charity, the Niño Jesús, and the deceased San Juan de Dios.

In the first appearance of a demon in this play, the devil complains about the uneducated Juan's being so godly, and resolves to trap him. The next time the devil is heard from is amid great clatter as, offstage, he attacks Juan. Soon the two are seen in the air, the devil still beating the saint. In Act III, the devil prophesies Juan's death, praises him glowingly, and raves in defeat

¹Gen. 3:15.

²Aguilar III, 436.

as Juan dies on his knees. In later scenes, the devil states his decision to pursue Antón Martín, even if he has to go to Madrid, and he deceives a woman into offering herself to Antón Martín.

The Play

The principal source of Juan de Dios y Antón Martín was probably the Miraculosa vida y santas obras del beato Juan de Dios, fundador de la religión que cura enfermos, written by Francisco de Castro, chaplain of the hospital founded by the saint, and published in Granada in 1588.¹

The play is not one of the best comedias de santos. There is little development of plot in the pageant-like succession of scenes. Menéndez y Pelayo² sees two threads of action: the founding of the hospital in Granada by Juan, former shepherd, soldier, and bookseller converted by the preaching of Juan de Avila, and the subjugation of self by Antón Martín, who had to lay aside the usual demands of honor, and pardon the slayer of his brother.

The seventy-odd characters who appear during the course of the play further reduce the cohesion of the scenes and the plan of the action. However, they furnish color and realistic glimpses of human life.

Humor in this play is the business chiefly of Calahorra. On three occasions he indulges in outbursts of name-calling, as when he

¹Menéndez y Pelayo, Estudios, II, 80-81.

²Ibid.

calls the mujeres públicas "hermanas desolladas."¹ He is not a bobo, however; humor in the play is comparatively infrequent, usually confined to a pungent question or comment. For example, when Antón promises prayers and disciplinas for the king, Calahorra mumbles a question as to the necessity of the disciplinas. On one occasion, Juan himself engages in an exchange of epithets, calling the devil a "calabaza frita en el fuego infernal."²

Its weak plot, multitude of characters, and numerous scenes notwithstanding, Juan de Dios y Antón Martín reveals that the saint is characterized by generosity, resignation, purity, penitence, willingness to work, practical sense, humility, and sturdy clinging to principle--even when it means confinement in an asylum.

¹Aguilar III, 438.

²Ibid., p. 435.

Lo fingido verdadero, tragicomedia famosa¹

First lines. Marcio: ¡Pese al Emperador y a siete imperios!
 Así nos lleva por Mesopotamia

Last lines. Octavio: Aquí acaba la comedia
 de mejor representante.

CHARACTERS²

Marcio	Dos músicos	Felisardo
Maximiano	Lelio, cónsul	Léntulo
Diocleciano	Severio	Fabricio
Aurelio César	Patricio	Marcela
Numeriano	Pinabelo	Sulpicio
Apro, cónsul	Octavio	Un alcaide
Carino	Un ángel	Alvino
Rosarda	Un capitán	El guardarropa
*Ginés	Un soldado	Celio
Curio	Sergesto	Rutilio
Camila	Salustio	Fabio

Acto primero

Set about the year 300 A. D., Lo fingido verdadero opens
as Marcio, Curio, Maximiano, and Diocleciano, as military men,

¹Aguilar III, 167-199. Probably written in 1608.

²An asterisk marks the one saint in the play. The last three personages do not appear on p. 167 of Aguilar III, but do speak in the play. There may be a fourth omission; it seems unlikely that the Marcio of Ginés' company of players is the same Marcio as the soldier of Act I.

complain about the Emperor Aurelio's having sent them to the far eastern reaches of the empire, near the Tigris, where Alexander failed. Maximiano declares that he wishes Numeriano, Aurelio's son, were emperor; but instead, he is here with them at the front. Carino, Aurelio's other son, is criticized in this conversation; it is mentioned that he has a way of "forzando las mujeres más honradas."

Another source of complaint is the lack of food and money. Camila, selling bread, has sharp replies for those who try to coax her into giving them a loaf. At last she hands a loaf to Diocleciano and predicts that when he kills a wild boar, he will become emperor. Because he has already killed a number of wild boars, Diocleciano is puzzled; but he nevertheless promises Camila honor should her prediction come true.

A dreadful storm arises, with much lightning. César Aurelio rashly declares that heaven may not belong to him, but the earth does. He is railing at Jupiter when a sudden bolt strikes him. Apro observes to his mourning son-in-law, Numeriano, that bolts hit the tall towers.

Numeriano agrees with the troops that the fighting and the distance from home have become intolerable. He plans to assume some authority, and will begin by calling himself consul. The troops approve with enthusiasm.

In Rome, Carino, in conversation with Celio, Rosarda, and two musicians, inquires in some detail about the single women of the neighborhood. Celio, a servant, answers candidly; Rosarda, who is

dressed as a man, finally has to remind them that she is "la dama de esta comedia." Celio observes that players are emperors for an hour and a half only; Carino will be so for life. Carino dwells on the thought, and affirms that he will be emperor in life and death; human law, he declares, cannot touch him.¹ Mention is then made of Ginés as the best of the players and a writer, besides. Ginés conveniently appears and, in answer to Carino's question about women, replies that his troupe had a good female player named Lisarda, but she became a Christian. Carino capriciously asks for a performance on the spot; but Ginés, by promising a comedy about Carino and Rosarda, persuades him to wait until the following day. Carino decides to make Ginés imperial comedian.

After Ginés has left, Carino boasts about the pleasure he finds in violating a woman's honor, especially if she is virtuous, and doubly if she is a senator's wife. Celio and Rosarda rather belatedly declare their opposition to that sort of thing. Just as Rosarda mentions that it is no wonder Lelio is angry over Carino's having ravaged his wife, Lelio appears and, after a brief lecture, stabs Carino, who announces that the tragedy is ended and that his life was only an hour and a half long, after all. Rosarda offers to join Carino in death, but he tells her to live.

Apro asks Felisardo how he thinks Rome would receive him (Apro) as Caesar. Felisardo replies that the ailing Numeriano, so long as

¹The audience remembers that Carino's father was speaking in this same vein when the bolt of lightning killed him.

he lives, is preferred, especially by the troops. Apro confides that he has just killed Numeriano but, because of the way he is wrapped and being transported, no one has noticed. He excuses his deed to Felisardo, who is shocked that the man has killed his own son-in-law, by declaring that the desire to reign is not treason.

The soldiers, having learned that Carino is dead, wish to place the laurel on Numeriano. Apro, prompted by a guilty conscience, leaps into a long account of his concern for his son-in-law. In a rather tingly scene, the soldiers try to place the laurel on Numeriano's head, only to come to the realization that he is dead. Maximiano immediately declares that Apro is the murderer.¹ Apro denies the murder, slyly pointing to himself as deserving the laurel; but Felisardo betrays the earlier confidence, telling all. Diocleciano, remembering the prognostication about the wild boar, observes that apro in Latin means "wild boar." He asserts that the night before, Numeriano appeared to him as a shade and asked him to avenge his death.² And, he continues, he will do it, even though only a slave's son. After he has killed Apro, Maximiano delivers a speech praising Diocleciano. Himself a fair politician, Diocleciano declares that he is no Ulysses and his language is deficient, but if the soldiers will make him Caesar, he will make all of them so, too. The laurel is granted him, and his first order is that Numeriano's property be divided among the troops; his second, that they march toward Rome.

¹No explanation is given for Maximiano's rapid conclusion.

²Either Diocleciano is lying, or the dramatist neglected to prepare us for this apparition.

Acto segundo

Diocleciano, declaring that all the treasure he wants is good will, is well received in Rome. He proclaims a day of celebrations, to include gladiators and the throwing of Christians and slaves to wild beasts. Deciding to share all this with Maximiano, Diocleciano establishes him also as Caesar. Camila, who predicted Diocleciano's rule, arrives, and the emperor grants her request for freedom to move about the palace at will. Now Ginés arrives, and Diocleciano asks him for a play. Camila suggests that a tragedy would be a bad omen for the new emperor. Diocleciano asserts only that his tastes are Spanish; he allows Ginés to choose his own play. Ginés delivers a little speech about how the actor needs to have experienced that which he portrays. Left alone, he runs through a repertory, portraying in turn a deaf man, a blind man, an angry man, an insane man, and a lover. Pinabelo, who customarily plays the part of servants, announces the arrival of the troupe; every one is here except the musicians. Ginés comments that thus it is always.

It becomes clear that Ginés and Octavio, principal actor after Ginés, are rivals for the hand of Marcela. Ginés confides to Pinabelo that he plans to make Marcela jealous through the action of the play; furthermore, he has written in plenty of embraces for her and himself.

The royal audience settles down, and the performance begins with a flowery passage of praise for the emperor from the musicians. Ginés presents the loa, a tour de force in which he compares his

efforts to those of a poet who wished to make a good impression on the king and then dropped his gloves at his feet. After more music, the play begins. Ginés plays Rufino and Marcela, Fabia. Soon the actor forgets and calls the actress "Marcela," and complains about her fondness for Octavio. Fabricio, Fabia's father, happens along, and, in answer to Rufino's request, starts to promise the girl's hand to the young man, only to have to stop and ask him to repeat his name. After Rufino and Fabricio have left, Octavio rushes in, as the unhappy lover. He and Marcela embrace, and mutter that they wish it were true and that they could run away together. The emperor notices this long pause. Celio, as a servant, announces that he has just seen a couple embarking for Spain. Ginés goes into a frenzy for his big scene: may the sails fall, may the winds stop them, etc., etc. The royal audience comments on his ability. Lelio remarks that if they think this is good, they should see him portray a Christian. Ginés, running out of lines, asks Celio why the others are not yet dressed. Then, stalling for time, he repeats a pair of lines that struck his fancy on their first rendition:

que mal la alcanzarán mis pensamientos
si camina por agua y yo por fuego.¹

Fabricio now announces that the flight of Octavio and Marcela was not feigned. Ginés, with certain phrases of adulation for the emperor, asks that they be pursued, so that the play can be concluded. Diocleciano is unsure whether this is acting or not, but

¹Aguilar III, 188.

Ginés assures him that Octavio and Marcela are in love and that he has unwittingly composed the device whereby they tricked him.

Pinabelo brings news that Octavio has returned. The emperor dismisses the confusion as a flattering effort to take him into the action of the play, and he is pleased with the satire--he considers all this burla directed toward those who allow themselves to be victims of love. However, he declares that he has had enough for one day, and wishes to see Ginés portray a Christian on the following day.

Learning that Marcela and Octavio have not returned, but did, indeed, embark for Spain, Gines is certain of his having been affronted. The act closes as he repeats his two favorite lines.

Acto tercero

Diocleciano and Camila express their devotion to each other. Rutilio enters to describe the beasts provided for the spectacle of the day. Camila declares that she does not intend to watch them kill men, for Diocleciano is a man and therefore she respects them all. Besides, there is a beast fiercer than all of them: love.

The emperor asks Ginés about Octavio and Marcela, and learns that her father pursued them and saw them married. Love lasts, suggests Diocleciano, while in fear of losing its object; now that the matter is decided, Ginés should feel better. The poet agrees, adding that he has already pardoned them. The emperor now asks to see the dramatization of a Christian baptism. Marcela enters to inquire what play they will perform; when Ginés briefly reprimands her for the complications of the day before, she replies graciously,

and he soon wishes her happiness. Octavio reveals some jealousy over Marcela's having talked with Ginés. Marcela reminds him that if her love is not enough, he might remember her honor.

Alone, Ginés begins planning the performance and rehearsing his impression of a Christian. He resolves to invoke Christ, Mary, and the saints. "¡Qué bien levanto la voz!" he affirms.

As the actor practices his baptismal prayer, the first Christian miracle of the play occurs: a revelation of the Father, the Son, Mary, and some martyrs. Ginés mentions hearing heavenly music, but does not appear to have seen the apparition. Now a divine voice promises him salvation. Ginés decides the voice came from another member of the company, but does consider the possibility that it was the voice of Christ. He is aware that Christ is said to have died for man, opening the door to heaven, which was closed by sin. He knows that baptism is required for entrance into heaven, and that fires are reserved for the wicked; no wonder Christians die for their Master!

During these musings, a boy tries to call Ginés' attention to Marcela's being so taken up with Octavio that she wants the lad to play the part of the angel, although he has not rehearsed it for more than a year.

Diocleciano and Maximiano, with Camila between them, take seats for the performance. A musician outlines the mission of Christ; Marcela presents the loa.¹ The action of this second play within the

¹How she freed herself from Octavio (see above) is not explained.

play is begun as Ginés is brought in as a prisoner. The soldiers notice that he departs entirely from his lines; but they are accustomed to his improvisations. When Ginés declares his wish to be baptized, an angel announces that God has heard his wish. Ginés is carried upward out of sight. The emperor comments on the ability and realism of the performance; Camila affirms that Christians believe God takes the form of a sacred Host to come down among men. Suddenly Ginés and four angels are seen, the baptism just completed. With knowledgeable references to Amos, Lazarus, the good thief, Jonah, and the road to Emmaus, Ginés asks Christ to perform at his side from now on. The soldiers call for the prompter, but Ginés declares that heaven is prompting him now, for the lines as they stood were all wrong. He has, he asserts, been miraculously instructed. The boy now enters, speaking the lines of the angel. The captain tries to dismiss the boy, explaining that the angel has already appeared. The boy wonders who, and as the discussion continues, Diocleciano reminds them that they are in his presence, and asks why they did not learn the play before performing it. Ginés admits that there was a real angel, that he was shown a book with his name in it, that Christ is his new author, that Act II will deal with the emperor's anger, and that Act III will be the actor's martyrdom.

Léntulo examines the other players and, convinced that they had no foreknowledge of Ginés' intentions, releases them with a sentence of exile from Rome.

Preparing for death, Ginés compares the personalities in the long controversy between good and evil to the characters of two theatrical companies.

The players, leaving Rome, blame Ginés for their plight and elect Octavio as their leader. As they pass a field, they behold an impaled Ginés giving his last performance, declaring that heaven awaits him and he awaits part two of this drama.

Observations

Identity of the Saint

St. Genesis the Comedian was an actor at Rome. According to some accounts, he was performing a burlesque of Christian baptism before the emperor Diocletian when he himself was suddenly converted and forthwith martyred. "The same story is told of at least three other martyrs."¹ St. Genesis is the patron of actors, printers, and stenographers.²

Qualities of the Saint

Ginés is so briefly a Christian that there is not much opportunity to observe his saintly qualities. Before his Act III conversion, however, he graciously pardons Marcela and Octavio for their run-away marriage, even though Marcela's preference for Octavio was a great personal loss for the future saint. Diego Marín sees

¹BkSts, p. 257.

²Wedge, pp. 53, 61, 63.

Ginés' gentleness and resignation in this matter as a preparation for the sudden transformation of the pagan actor into the Christian martyr.¹

Ginés must be commended for giving serious consideration to the doctrines he discusses in his rehearsal; so earnest is he that there is no hesitancy during the performance when an angel offers him baptism as a real rather than a pretended ceremony. Indeed, Ginés immediately expresses his willingness to die a Christian martyr. And martyred he is, amid his expressions of faith and hope in the life to come.

On the negative side, it was noted that Ginés is not particularly modest: "¡Qué bien levanto la voz!"² he declares during his rehearsal, and earlier he had gone through a whole repertory of special characterizations, seemingly most for display.

Theology, Miracles, and Demonology

In the first two acts of Lo fingido verdadero, there is much more pagan theology than Christian. Early in the first act, Diocleciano comments sharply on the religion of pagan Rome when he declares, "La romana religión toda se funda en agüeros."³ Soon afterward, however, the deaths of Aurelio and Carino seem ascribable to the pagan gods before whom they flaunt their position.

¹Marín, p. 95.

²Aguilar III, 192.

³Ibid., p. 168.

With regard to Christian doctrine, Ginés alludes, in his planning for his portrayal of a Christian, to the intercessory capacity of Mary and the other saints. He states that Christ was born of a virgin and died for the sins of the race, thus opening the way to heaven. As he compares baptism as the requirement for admission to heaven to the hellfire awaiting sinners, he understands why Christians make willing martyrs. Camila mentions the doctrine of transubstantiation. Ginés, though his martyrdom seems completely commendable, has an interesting theory that God wants him in heaven to frighten the devil and to praise God after death as "el mejor representante."¹ Ginés dies as he declares that heaven will repay him for his faith, hope, and charity,² though it is to heaven that he owes all three qualities.

Three miracles are attributed to the Christian God in Lo fingido verdadero. The first is a spectacle not witnessed by Ginés, but given as a prognostication for the benefit of the audience: "Con música se abran en alto unas puertas en que se vean pintados una imagen de Nuestra Señora y un Cristo en brazos del Padre, y por las gradas de este trono algunos mártires."³ The second miracle is the heaven-arranged baptism of the actor, conducted by four

¹Ibid., p. 197.

²Ibid. One might wonder how his "caridad notable" could have been so well developed in so short a time.

³Ibid., p. 192.

angels.¹ The third miracle, according to Ginés, is his otherwise inexplicable knowledge of Christian history and doctrine.²

Lo fingido verdadero is unusual in its complete lack of demonic manifestations.

The only heresy attacked is Roman paganism; and apart from Diocleciano's assertion that it is based on augury, there is no direct attack on it. The sudden and violent death of Aurelio upon his deprecations against Jupiter would seem to undermine the dramatist's belief that the pagan gods did not exist.

The Play

Lo fingido verdadero was probably based on the Flos Sanctorum of Padre Ribadeneyra and the Historia Imperial y Cesarea of Pero Mexía. Diego Marín³ sees these distinct sources as the explanation for the two threads of plot in the play: the accession of Diocleciano to the throne and the miraculous conversion of San Ginés. The personality of the antagonist binds the two together; Ginés appears only incidentally in those scenes dealing with Diocleciano's imperial career.

Along with the two threads of plot is a double application of the title. In Act II, Ginés planned the dramatization of his real devotion to Marcela; in Act III, without the actor's premeditation,

¹Ibid., p. 195. The baptizing angel is seen "como que ya le echó el agua"; Lope usually avoided dramatizing the act of baptism itself.

²Ibid., p. 196.

³p. 93.

the expected portrayal of a baptism turned out to be a real one.

Lo fingido verdadero is an early example of the "play within the play." And its star is sufficiently carried away by his own fiction to become a martyr. To paraphrase Shakespeare, the play's the thing that caught the conscience of the actor.

Perhaps the most appealing portions of Lo fingido verdadero are those lines through which the dramatist's own voice is heard. In Act III, for example, the emperor observes that poets know how to do more than love and Ginés (Lope?) replies that

Estamos más obligados
a perdonar los poetas
flaquezas de amor.¹

The playwright is also probably speaking in Ginés' lines beginning with "El imitar es ser representante,"² and continuing with the proposal that the poet cannot adequately write about love, with its problems of jealousy, absence, affronts, and disdain, unless he has experienced them. A middle-aged Lope is again detected in the sonnet beginning

Amor me puso en tanta desventura
la verde primavera de mis años,
que pensé por el mar de sus engaños
en vez del puerto hallar la sepultura.³

These thoughts are offered as support for our proposal that Lope's portrait of the saint grew out of his own convictions.

¹Aguilar III, 191.

²Ibid., p. 180.

³Ibid., p. 191.

Humor is almost absent in Lo fingido verdadero, and the play would be better off with less of what there is. In Act I, Ginés makes a bad joke about any drama producing fruit at the end of nine months; and Diocleciano opens Act III by commending Camila for her interest in him, which arises not out of a quest for gold, but simply through "la grandeza de su pecho."

Lo fingido verdadero has its share of flaws. There is the completely seventeenth-century language, with "por Dios" and "gracias a Dios," authentic elements of the third century turning up only in references to purely external matters. There is the sudden and violent death of Aurelio, apparently as an act of retribution on the part of Jupiter, inconsistent with the Christian beliefs emphasized in the play. There is Maximiano's rapidly reached conclusion, for which no reason is given in the play, that Apro murdered Numeriano. There is the total lack of preparation for Diocleciano's assertion (unless he lied) that a wraith-like Numeriano had asked him to avenge his death. There is the absence of conflict as Act I closes. There is Ginés' long summary of titles, with remarks on each, considerably slowing the action of the play. There is Marcela's appearance to recite a loa just after a boy has declared that she is busy with Octavio and he is to take her part. And there are the long and awkward asides between Ginés and Marcela, and between her and Octavio, during the earlier performance; similarly, we wonder what the raving Ginés does during the imperial comments on his performance. In view of these weaknesses, there may be those

who would take issue with Ricardo del Arco's suggestion that Lope has placed in Lo fingido verdadero "su mejor inspiración,"¹ and with Astrana Marín's assertion that the play is "quizá la mejor de sus vidas de santos."²

The foregoing remarks are not intended to minimize the interest and distinction of Lo fingido verdadero. The playwright speaks through his creation of character here as in few plays; the fine balance between illusion and reality is noteworthy; and the saint is carried to martyrdom with his art as the vehicle.

Valbuena³ finds traces of Lo fingido verdadero in other versions of the saint's life, such as Rotrou's Saint Genest comédien;⁴ in Tamayo's Un drama nuevo; in the teatro de la vida idea of some of Calderón's autos sacramentales; and even in Calderón's La vida es sueño and Lope's Barlaam y Josafat.

¹Arco y Garay, Historia general, III, 246.

²Astrana Marín, p. 283. Other writers who discuss this play include Diego Marín (pp. 93-95), Sainz de Robles (Lope de Vega: Retrato, p. 324), Vossler (Lope de Vega y su tiempo, p. 352), and Zamora Vicente (p. 243). See also the following notes.

³Historia de la literatura, p. 239.

⁴Menéndez y Pelayo (Estudios, I, 255-268) makes a lengthy comparison of Saint Genest with Lo fingido verdadero.

El Cardenal de Belén¹

First lines. Gregorio: No quiero de tu intención,
Jerónimo, disuadirte.

Last lines. Angel: Aquí da fin la comedia
del Cardenal de Belén,
luz y doctor de la Iglesia.

CHARACTERS²

*Gregorio, obispo	Pascual	Macrino
*Jerónimo	Bras	*San Mercurio
*Malco	Antón	Pauliniano
Elisa	Roma	Rufino
Marino	*Eustoquia	Orosio
El Demonio	*San Dámaso	*Gaspar
El Mundo	Darío	*Melchor
Sabino	Trebelio	*Baltasar
Un Juez	Libanio	España
*Paula	Sulpicio	Felicia
*Eusebio	El Emperador Juliano	Jesús
Vicencio	Liceno	*María
Lamberto	Gerardo	*Josef
*San Agustín	Numancio	Angeles

¹Acad. IV, 155-186. Probably written in 1610.

²The saints are marked by asterisks. The fifth personage, given in the list and in Act I as "Marino," appears in later parts of the play as "Martino."

Cardenales

Músicos

Obispos

Criados

Romanos y romanas

Hebreos

Soldados

*Rafael, ángel¹Acto primero

Set in the fourth century of the Christian era, the play opens as San Jerónimo reviews for San Gregorio the history of his life. He mentions his studies of grammar and rhetoric, his position as a teacher before he was twenty, and his visits, with tears, to the tombs of saints and martyrs. His increasing interest in the Scriptures has brought him to Gregorio, who is known for his understanding of the Bible. He also wishes to obtain Gregorio's blessing before leaving to imitate the lives of the hermits in the Egyptian desert.

Gregorio agrees, albeit sadly, that solitude is blessed and affords a road to immortality. The hermits, he asserts, are holy men whose example will lead Jerónimo to become a man of God and "gran columna de su templo."

The following scene introduces the third saint, as Malco, an aged hermit, expresses his satisfaction at being removed from the hunger, wars, struggle for money, and other cares of worldly

¹Not listed in Acad. IV; perhaps the dramatist intended Rafael to be included among the "ángeles." The Divine Judge and San Miguel appear in Act III, but do not speak. At the same time, St. Mary and St. Joseph are listed among the characters, though they do not speak, either.

life. He calls for his wife Elisa to come down the hillside and eat with him.

Jerónimo, with books and a staff, enters. His anticipation of uninterrupted study is broken off by the puzzling sight of this man and woman together. Malco takes 198 lines to relate how he became a recluse, ignored his abbot's advice and went back home for a while, was taken prisoner by Arabs, was ordered by his Arab master to take a wife and settle down as his shepherd, married Elisa but never consummated the marriage, and escaped with her to this solitary place, where they still live in chastity. In answer to Jerónimo's now respectful request, Malco directs him to a place of solitude.

Marino, asking how to find Jerónimo, is humbly advised by Malco to make a bower of branches and wait until Jerónimo, who was bent on finding solitude, becomes aware of his presence. Marino complies, commending those who thus leave the vanities of the world.

El Demonio and el Mundo now appear, the devil growling about his fall from heaven to earth. Mundo is surprised that the devil is more annoyed by Jerónimo than he was by Paul and Anthony. The devil complains that the man is only thirty years old and, like David, is pelting hell with a canto.¹ They decide, especially after hearing him address a prayerful sonnet to God, to place worldly temptation before him. But a dance performed by flower-crowned Roman youths and girls, who sing of Venus, brings from Jerónimo only a lament that such

¹A play on words: canto means both "song" and "pebble."

imaginations should follow him here. When Jerónimo is seen with his tunic open and a rock in his hand,¹ contemplating an image of Christ, the devil gives up and leaves. After Jerónimo has finished his prayer, a supernatural voice expresses pleasure at his song, and promises the help of the angels. Jerónimo rises miraculously toward the image while music is heard.

Marino, now dressed as a monk, learns from Sabino, a Roman, that Pope Liberio has heard of Jerónimo's saintliness and wants him to come and assist in the struggle against Arianism. Marino and Sabino decide to go together to Jerusalem, where Jerónimo is now studying Hebrew in order to translate the Scriptures.

A glimpse of the language lesson is had as Jerónimo reads from the third chapter of Daniel, with the help of a Jewish instructor. When the teacher leaves, however, Jerónimo declares that he finds more sweetness in Pliny, Plato, and Cicero. Reading from the latter two, he is suddenly caught up² before a tribunal consisting of four angels and a Judge on a throne. Asked who he is, he replies that he is a Christian; but the Judge asserts that Christians read only in Christ, not in Cicero. The angels are instructed to lash him; but as he confesses his sin, they ask the Judge to pardon him and give him the opportunity of mending his ways. The Judge consents,

¹St. Jerome is reputed to have pounded on his chest with a rock as an act of penance.

²An angel transports him by grasping him by the hair of the head, as is the case with Barlaán in Barlaán y Josafat.

and Act I ends as Jerónimo promises to spend his life translating the Scriptures.

Acto segundo

Santa Paula, Santa Bustoquia, and Marino inform us that three years have passed and Jerónimo has been made a cardinal. The struggle against Arianism has been made doubly hard by the vacillations of Constancio and Juliano.¹ Though many orthodox believers have died, persecution is now ceasing; but the imminent return of Julian, who is cruel and consults witches and the devil, makes the future dark.

Amid many expressions of praise for Spain, it is announced that Dámaso, from Madrid, has been elected pope. This saint appears with Jerónimo and "el mayor acompañamiento que puedan"² in a scene of pomp and pageantry.

Joining Paula and Bustoquia, Jerónimo offers his condolences to Paula on the death of her husband, and confides that he longs to return to the solitude of Egypt.

Paula requests permission to ask a favor, and Jerónimo invites her to come in and do so. With Bustoquia, they leave the stage, each commenting on the other's saintliness and holy example.

Juliano blasphemously admits his apostasy, threatens Basil, Gregory, Atanasius, and Jerome, and declares that he offers dead bodies and incense to the devil, who meets his needs better than

¹Constantius II and Julian the Apostate ruled 337-361 and 361-363, respectively.

²Acad. IV, 166.

Christ. After he has left, Sulpicio reprimands Libanio for not cautioning the emperor that God will not long bear with him.

Libanio scoffs, "And what might the carpenter's Son be doing?"

Replies Sulpicio, "Making a coffin for Julian."

Liceno and Gerardo, clerics, conspire to get rid of Jeronimo, who is bringing such reformation to Rome. They consider killing him, but knowing how he dresses in the dark for matins, decide to conceal a woman's garment among his clothes. They will tell the pope that Jerónimo and Paula are having an illicit affair, and they will also plot the downfall of Marino. They launch their attack immediately, for Marino¹ now happens to pass. They tempt him with detailed information on some girls just arrived from Naples, and they call Jerónimo and the pope hypocrites. Marino preaches for ninety-two lines, defending Jerónimo as a new Baptist, a lighthouse for the ship of St. Peter, and a new Elijah, with many saintly qualities.

Numancio seeks to tell Pope Dámaso that Paula and Jeronimo are carrying on together. Dámaso, however, seeing that correction from Jerónimo has brought on the accusation, refuses to believe it.

Jerónimo and Marino enter for matins. Marino quotes from the ninety-first Psalm as they pray eloquently for guidance and protection. But Gerardo and the others interrupt noisily, calling attention to the clothing of the woman whom Jerónimo must have left

¹From here on in the play, this character appears as "Martino." For the sake of consistency, we shall continue to use "Marino."

in his bed. In an outburst of despair, Jerónimo regrets that he ever left his precious solitude for such intrigues as these.

Back at the front again, Juliano raves over how the devil has tricked him, for the Persians are routing the Romans. Libanio reminds him that many saints are praying for his destruction. Juliano declares that he is ready to die, and hurls defiance at heaven. Suddenly San Mercurio descends, fully armed, and announces to Juliano that his time has come, whereupon the saint thrusts his lance through Juliano's chest. Moaning that pride was his downfall, Juliano confesses, "Galileo, ya venciste," and cursing sorcery, auguries, and oracles, he asserts that he knows he is bound for eternal fire.

Acto tercero

From San Eusebio's conversation with the monks Vicencio and Pauliniano, it is learned that Numancio was publicly punished for his false testimony against Jerónimo, that Jerónimo was persuaded to come out of solitude after four years and establish the Bethlehem monastery where the three monks are now speaking, and that Paula has been making an extensive trip to visit places of holy fame.

Jerónimo explains that he has endeavored to prepare this place so that if it were possible for the holy family to return, they could find a place to stay. He next announces that he is ready to begin the lesson for the day. After a few moments of study, a lion suddenly appears. The group disperses in terror, certain that hunger has brought him to the monastery. But the animal shows Jerónimo his paw, and the saint removes a thorn and medicates the

wound. The lion bounds happily away, but offstage voices cry in alarm. Marino enters, almost unrecognizable in his protective arrangements, and asks whether he should kill the animal. Jerónimo replies that the lion is merely trying to show his gratitude, and, assuring Marino that the beast will obey, sends him to order the lion to take the donkey to graze.

Paula, Eustoquia, and Pelicia arrive. In a speech of 128 lines, Santa Paula describes their travels. Jerónimo approves her request to establish a women's order so that both sexes will be represented near Bethlehem.

In a remote scene, Orosio inquires of San Agustín the nature of the soul, asserting that all Spain is undecided. Agustín, suggesting that Plato erred and that he prefers Aristotle, sends Orosio to his dear friend, the saintly and penitent Jerónimo.

Marino instructs the lion in caring for the donkey. The lion nods that he understands and trots away.

Jerónimo declares that angels have helped him with some matins the pontiff asked him to compose. Now he asks to see the empress of heaven, her sweet husband, and the child Jesus. He is straightway caught up into a scene containing the Holy Family, the three kings, and some shepherds. The shepherds sing a lullaby in two stanzas, between which the kings comment on the bright star.

Jerónimo descends as Marino enters, flogging the lion because he fell asleep and allowed the donkey to escape. Jerónimo sends the lion back to find the donkey, threatening a four-day fast. Orosio

arrives, with letters from San Agustín. Three Hebrews rush in, fleeing from the lion and admitting that they stole the donkey while the lion slept. Now the lion has frightened their camels and brought the whole caravan to the monastery.

The archangel Rafael and the devil discuss the four convents established by Paula. San Rafael arouses demonic ire by describing the future reforms and advances of the order of St. Jerome, especially in Spain, beginning during the reign of Alfonso XI. Complaining that he is being consumed by envy, the devil asks to see the saint's last days. A curtain is drawn to reveal San Jerónimo with a long white beard; he is writing, with the lion at his feet. An angel touches the saint with a trumpet, and above is revealed a Judge and San Miguel. Sensing that his end is near, the saint prays for pity. With Eusebio, Pauliniano, Marino, and Vicencio at his side, he commends his soul to Christ and expires, kneeling all the while.

Roma and España engage in a discussion over which place is to have the remains of Jerónimo. The devil declares that those are the two nations he abhors most: Rome for being the seat of the successor of Peter, and Spain for being so loyal to the faith. Rafael decrees that Jerónimo's remains shall be in Rome. Asking how the saint should be painted in churches, Rome is told by the angel that he should be portrayed among rocks and crags, contemplating an image of Christ, and with a stone in his hand and the lion at his feet. The devil rages; then, in a rash promise, he declares to Rome, Spain, and the whole world,

Oíd una cosa nueva,
oíd: que yo, que el Demonio
de tal manera respeta
este penitente santo,
que no entraré donde sepa
que está su imagen pintada.¹

Observations

Identity of the Saints

St. Jerome (c. 342-420) was born Eusebius Hieronymus Sophronius at Stridonum in Dalmatia. He studied in Rome, travelled in Italy and Gaul, lived as a hermit in Palestine, was ordained as priest in Rome, served as secretary to the pope, and, having come to be on bad terms with others around the pope, went back to Palestine. He settled at Bethlehem, where he spent the rest of his life translating the Bible and writing commentaries on it, becoming the most learned Biblical scholar of his day.

He himself was the first to appreciate this fact and was apt to resent any opposition to his way of thinking. However, he acknowledged his own shortcomings, particularly his shortness of temper, with a rather tempestuous but virile humility. His place as an exponent of Catholic dogma is still the highest ever allotted to a Biblical scholar. He died at Bethlehem and is officially venerated as a Doctor of the Church.²

St. Jerome is also recognized as the patron of librarians.³

St. Gregory Nazianzen (c. 329-390) was a native of Arianzos in Cappadocia and the eldest son of St. Gregory Nazianzen the Elder. Though he was not successful as a bishop, "as a writer he stands far

¹Acad. IV, 186.

²EkSts, pp. 318-319.

³Wedge, p. 59.

above most other Greek Doctors, in fact, he is surnamed by the Greeks 'the Divine.' . . ."¹

St. Malchus, who died about 390, was a Syrian monk at Chalcis, near Antioch. After about twenty years of monastic life he was kidnapped by Bedouins, who sold him as a slave. 'He was given an already married woman to wife, but they lived as brother and sister. After some seven years of bondage they succeeded in escaping together and Malchus returned to his monastery. St. Jerome knew him there and wrote his life.'"²

St. Paula (347-404) was a Roman lady of noble birth, who was married to a patrician and bore him five children, among them St. Eustochium and St. Blaesilla. Left a widow at the age of thirty-four, she entered the religious life, and for twenty years presided over the sisterhood founded by her near St. Jerome's monastery at Bethlehem. She also founded a hospital. St. Jerome wrote her life."³

St. Eusebius, who died about 423, was a native of Cremona and an intimate friend of St. Jerome, whom he succeeded as abbot of Bethlehem. 'The tradition that he founded the abbey of Guadalupe in Spain cannot be substantiated.'"⁴

St. Eustochium was the third daughter of St. Paula. She joined her mother at Bethlehem, where she collated manuscripts for St. Jerome's translation of the Bible. She succeeded her mother as director of the convent at Bethlehem. She died about 419."⁵

¹BkSts, p. 274.

²Ibid., p. 388.

³Ibid., p. 464.

⁴Ibid., p. 214.

⁵Ibid., p. 216.

St. Damasus, who died in 384, was a Spaniard by descent, but he was probably born in Rome. He was chosen pope in 366 and set about increasing the prestige of the Roman See by successfully opposing the Arians and Apollinarians, commissioning his friend St. Jerome to correct the Latin Bible, developing the Roman liturgy, and restoring many sacred buildings and tombs, for which he composed inscriptions that have become famous.¹

St. Mercurius died around 250. He is alleged to have been a Scythian officer in the imperial army, martyred at Caesarea under Decius. He is one of the group known as "warrior saints."²

St. Augustine of Hippo (354-430) was born at Tagaste in North Africa. He is known as bishop, doctor, and founder, "one of the most prolific, and certainly the most influential, of all the doctors."³

St. Mary is revered as "the highest of God's creatures" and "the Virgin Mother of God."⁴

St. Joseph, the spouse of St. Mary and the foster-father of Jesus, is liturgically honored as the patron of the universal church.⁵

Sts. Balthasar, Caspar, and Melchior, the three holy kings, are honored on January 6.⁶

¹Ibid., p. 165. ²Ibid., p. 422.

³Ibid., p. 79. St. Augustine is also a patron saint. For further details on him, see under El divino africano.

⁴BkSts, pp. 406-407.

⁵Ibid., p. 344.

⁶Ibid., pp. 385-386.

St. Michael the Archangel is mentioned three times in the Bible.¹ "He has always been especially invoked by the Catholic Church both in the East and in the West."² He is the patron of grocers, mariners, radiologists, and the sick.³

St. Raphael the Archangel is another of the three angels whom the church liturgically venerates by name. He is often identified with the angel of the sheep-pool (John 5:1-4) and is described in the apocryphal Book of Tobias. His feast was added to the calendar in 1922.⁴ He is the patron of lovers, one of the patrons of physicians, and one of the patrons of travelers.⁵

Of the sixteen saints in El cardenal de Belén, there are eleven men, three women, and two angels. Nine of these saints are of the third and fourth centuries; five are New Testament personages; and, if we admit the traditions and apocrypha regarding Raphael, the two angels are mentioned in both the Old and New Testaments. Among the sixteen are three doctors of the church, three founders, two hermits, one pope, one martyr, and six patrons.

Qualities of the Saints

Three of the saints in El cardenal de Belén do not speak at all. Seven others appear only briefly. We shall attempt to

¹Dan. 10:13, Rev. 12:7, Jude 9.

²BkSts, p. 424.

³Wedge, pp. 58, 59, 61, 62.

⁴BkSts, pp. 501-502.

⁵Wedge, pp. 59, 61, 64.

examine only those six whose saintly qualities can be found in their lines, or in the descriptions of other characters.

It is learned early in the play that San Jerónimo reveres the Scriptures and the tombs of the martyrs. He sees solitude as holy and preferable to the intrigues of city life; not only does he commend the hermits for their acts of penance and mortification, but he, also, spends a number of years in the wilderness, where he mortifies himself by striking himself on the breast with a rock. Jerónimo's outlook is one of faith; he declares to San Gregorio that he is certain they will see each other in a better life. The saint's sincerity and expressiveness can be seen in his wishes for Santa Paula as she lays plans for a women's order near Bethlehem:

Dios os dé su bendición,
para que velando atentas
os halle el divino Esposo
cuando llame a vuestras puertas.¹

San Jerónimo's reputation is widely known. Even Pope Liberio praises his saintliness, and San Dámaso, after his election as pope, asserts that Jerónimo is a "varón perfecto y religioso, castísimo." Marino calls him a "mancebo celestial"; Santa Eustoquia considers him a "santo varón"; and Santa Paula terms him a holy shepherd. In Act II, Marino declares that San Jerónimo is a saint, a second John the Baptist, a man who lives more like an angel than a human being. He adds that the saint is good, humble, silent, learned,

¹Acad. IV, 180. The allusion is to the parable of the ten virgins (Matt. 25:1-13).

prudent, and wise. Libanio praises him before Emperor Julian; San Agustín commends his erudition and influence; and San Eusebio lauds him for his humility, a quality often mentioned among saintly characterizations. Numancio, who plotted Jerónimo's ruin, calls him a saint, albeit unwillingly; and the devil compares him to David in Act I and in one of the closing scenes asserts that Jerónimo is the most penitent man since John the Baptist, and that he will never enter where this saint's image is.

San Gregorio, according to San Jerónimo, is reputed to have great knowledge of the Scriptures. Gregorio, like the protagonist of the play, looks upon the solitary life as the road to immortality.

San Malco also insists on withdrawal from the world, where "todo es solitud, trabajo y guerra." Referring to his wife, with whom he lives in unconsummated wedlock, he concludes, "¡Oh bienaventurado quien vive solo, estando acompañado!" He and Elisa are praised by Jerónimo as pillars of the door of the desert.

San Dámaso, after his election to the papal chair, is praised for his erudition and knowledge in theology. The envious Numancio grudgingly calls Dámaso a saint because he would not receive the story about an affair between Jerónimo and Paula.

The good doctor praises San Agustín for his humility and charity, signs that he is on the road to heaven.

Es Agustín una ave caudalosa
que a los rayos del sol atenta mira,
cuya dulzura y elegancia hermosa
obliga al cielo y a la tierra admira.
Pasa del sol su pluma milagrosa,

su corazón nos dice que suspira;
que no tiene la Iglesia tal letrado,
ni Dios un corazón tan abrasado.¹

St. Paula, the foundress, reveals her ideals in admiring the saintliness and holy example of Jerónimo. Pope Dámaso calls her a "matrona santísima," and the same superlative is used by Pauliniano, a monk. Marino describes her as "hermosa, pura, honesta y santa."

Theology, Miracles, and Demonology

One of the chief ideas presented in El cardenal de Belén is that the solitary life is a sure road to heaven. So maintain San Jerónimo, San Gregorio, and San Malco. The Virgin Mary is declared to reign with the Father and Son, above the choirs of angels. Plato and Cicero are thoroughly condemned in Act I, while in Act III San Agustín and Orosio lean on Plato and Aristotle for information on the soul. San Jerónimo teaches that there are three levels of creation: the physical (the elements), the spiritual (the angels), and the compound (the human race). The Emperor Julian, as he dies, declares that eternal fire awaits him. Arianism is attacked, but by name only; there is none of the argumentation one finds in El divino africano.

The first miracle in El cardenal de Belén occurs when San Jerónimo prays in this unusual way:

¹Acad. IV, 182.

Cristo mío, oíd mi canto,
 pues os canto con el canto
 que en soledad aprendí.
 En dos puntos, sol y mi,
 se encierra el canto, mi Dios;
 el sol que canto sois vos,
 yo soy el mi.¹

A supernatural voice expresses pleasure in the song, and, as off-stage music is heard, Jerónimo rises toward an image of Christ. When, during his study of the Hebrew language, Jerónimo suggests that he prefers Plato and Cicero to Daniel, he is caught up by the hair² to a divine tribunal, where four angels first scourge him, and then plead for him before the Judge. The death of the Emperor Juliano is supernaturally executed by San Mercurio, who descends fully armed and runs him through. In answer to his third-act request, San Jerónimo rises to a scene in which he beholds the Holy Family, the Magi, and some shepherds. At the end of the play, San Rafael reveals to the devil the last moments of the life of San Jerónimo, during which--a miracle within a miracle--an angel with a trumpet, San Miguel, and the divine Judge are revealed. Shortly after this spectacle, San Rafael reveals to Roma the manner in which San Jerónimo's effigy is to be painted.

The first manifestation of the devil in El cardenal de Belén is a spectacular one. The Devil and the World resolve to tempt San Jerónimo, and, as the instruments of their temptations, they produce

¹Acad. IV, 162.

²The dramatist compares the saint to Habakkuk in the matter of being caught up by the hair. Perusal of the book of Habakkuk fails to reveal why.

three Roman couples who dance and sing to the accompaniment of musicians. At the end of the play, the devil, after having been shown the scenes of San Jerónimo's death, abruptly proclaims that he so respects the saint that he will not enter those places where his likeness is painted.

The Play

El cardenal de Belén, based largely on the Ribadeneira Flos Sanctorum, has been called monstrous because of its wide range of characters, its spectacular effects, its span of eighty years,¹ and its settings: Constantinople, Jerusalem, Rome, Persia, Hippo, and Bethlehem. There is, in short, no unity in the play.² There is, however, some continuity and suspense between acts; between Acts II and III, for example, we at least wonder whether Jerónimo clears his name.

Among such an array of persons and places, it is difficult to separate a subplot. If there is one in this play, it is the career of Santa Paula and her convents.

Humor is virtually absent, except for the matter of the lion, the monks' fear of him, and the manner in which he took revenge on the Jews who stole the donkey. The dramatist no doubt deliberately names one of the Jews "Ishmael." At the end of the play, when the

¹The dramatist has the saint die at the age of 99. Cf. BkSts, p. 318, which reckons his life at about 78.

²See Menéndez y Pelayo's introduction (Acad. IV, lxxv-lxxix).

devil claims to be a cardinal, San Rafael remarks that any one who fell from heaven to earth should be full of cardenales.¹

The play has been analyzed and criticized by Hase² and Hamilton.³

¹Acad. IV, 183. Cardenal means "bruise."

²p. 96.

³T. Earle Hamilton, ed., El Cardenal de Belén (Lubbock: Texas Technical Institute Press, 1948).

El divino africano, tragicomedia¹

First lines.	Nesteo:	Tempranos habemos venido.
	Floripo:	Aun no es hora de lición.
Last lines.	Capitán:	Bien lo merece Agustín.
	Alipio:	Aquí se acaba la historia.

CHARACTERS²

Nesteo	Valerio, obispo	Furio, galán
Floripo	*Alipio, patrón	Un criado
Evandro	Un marinero	Un ángel
Sulpicio	Mario, pobre	Satán
Celestio	Turón, pobre	Un Niño en una nube
Darío	Teodosio, Emperador	Eboro
Deodato, niño	Rufino, general	Donato
*Agustino	*Ambrosio, arzobispo	Fortunato
Africana, dama	La Herejía	Una mujer
*Mónica, madre de San Agustín	La Verdad	Un niño
*Simpliciano	Dos damas	Una voz
	Tracio, galán	

¹Aguilar III, 202-233. Written about 1610.

²Asterisks mark the saints. Those personages following "Ambrosio, arzobispo," are not listed among the characters on p. 202 of Aguilar III, but do speak in the play. Valerio is referred to in the play as bishop of Hippo and as "San Valerio" (p. 207); but the only authentic African St. Valerius was bishop of Abbenza, and his dates would make him a child when St. Augustine was a man of thirty. See BkSts, p. 589.

Lidio

Soldados

Otros hombres

Un capitán

Una mujer
endemoniada

Ulderico, godo

Tres frailes

Acto primero

With the action set in Carthage in the second half of the fourth century, El divino africano opens as students arrive two by two, praising their teacher but regretting his acceptance of Manicheism. Agustín and his son, Deodato, join the students, and the boy displays his knowledge of rhetoric. Agustín, realizing there is a celebration that day, cuts the lesson short.

Left alone, Agustín addresses the divine Author who created him, expressing wonder at His very being. He continues by mentioning that when philosophy tires him, he turns to poetry, that of Virgil, for example. And he begins to read about Aeneas leaving Dido.

Africana, with whom Agustín lives, suggests her unhappiness. She says that she has heard that with greater knowledge come greater love and greater ability to love, but she doubts that this is true. Now she notices Agustín weeping, and accuses him of loving books more than her. He takes time to comfort her in a rather touching scene, interrupted by Deodato's announcement of the arrival of Mónica, Agustín's mother. Agustín asserts that he must respect his mother; Africana leaves.

Mónica, in better spirits than usual, explains that she has had a dream. Agustín interjects that superstitions are of no value,

but his mother reminds him of the dreams of Joseph in Egypt and of Joseph the husband of Mary. She declares that an angel has promised her that Agustín will be where she is. Again he interrupts, to point out that the angel did not say where they would be. Mónica now defends the doctrines of the Trinity and of the deity of Christ, with some reference to the conflict between Michael and Satan. Agustín states his determination to follow his Manichean leanings, and departs. Mónica is comforted by Valerio, bishop of Hippo.

Agustín confides to Deodato and Alipio that his mother's persistence is driving him out of Africa. She has some strange notion about a God who is one God and yet three persons, and about one of those persons being born of a woman who was a humble virgin before, during, and after the birth. Agustín wishes to go to Rome to talk with a learned man of similar persuasions; otherwise, he will never change. Africana knows she cannot hold him, so she merely asks that he write, and return as soon as he can. She reminds him of Aeneas' departure, and leaves, unable to bear watching the ship disappear.

Mónica learns from a seaman that Agustín and a friend have left. She sadly affirms that she had hoped her tears would dissuade him from his heretical beliefs.

Through Mario and Turón, two beggars, we learn that the scene is now Milan, and that Caesar is about to enter the city. They speak of the cruelty of the Emperor Theodosius, reputed to have killed 5,000 men, but now professing Christianity.

Talking with Rufino, at the church, the emperor expresses faith that Ambrosio will extirpate Arianism. Ambrosio, now entering

with Simpliciano, immediately challenges the emperor, asking him how he dares enter the house of the God he has so often offended. Theodosius agrees to confess, and departs. Ambrosio admits to the other saint that he could not have done this alone; God helped him.

Simpliciano brings up the need for a rhetorician, and adds that the name of an African has been mentioned for the post. Agustín thereupon arrives, and tells of his knowledge and experience. When at last he reveals his name, Ambrosio halts him, declaring that his name, though he is still young, is known in the four parts of the world. Alipio brings news of the arrival of Mónica. Agustín sends Deodato to meet her while he accompanies Ambrosio to his study.

Simpliciano, left alone, prays that the Arian heresy might be stamped out, and that Agustín might come out of his error. Confident that the church cannot fall, he nevertheless prays for a bright light to guide it. A voice now calls to Simpliciano, and, in a rather sudden vision, a church is revealed on the shoulders of Ambrosio and Jerome, the other two corners unsupported. The voice explains that Agustín will bear one of the corners, and the fourth will be held by Gregory, who will come later. Light and splendor will be added by Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas. The vision fades, and Simpliciano resolves to describe it to this Ambrosio who has so humbly hidden his importance.

Acto segundo

Simpliciano blames Agustín for having all Milan in confusion. Agustín declares that he seeks answers; if Simpliciano is leaning

on the supernatural, he should admit that he is teaching, not arguing. Simpliciano points out that Paul left Damascus one day with pride and determination, and He who conquered him can also vanquish Agustín.

Left alone, Agustín suddenly seems ready to yield:

Verdades son con alto fundamento
cuantas oí: Dios habla por su boca;
venid, Señor, la resistencia es poca,
y se quiere rendir mi sufrimiento.¹

Alipio asks Agustín to go with him to church, where he will see a thousand orthodox Christians. Agustín complains that these persons, simple, some of them illiterate, know the pathway, while he, "el águila del mundo,"² is about to be lost.

When Mónica and Deodato enter, Agustín immediately excuses himself. Mónica, asking her son why he avoids her, is told that her wishes are about to be granted. Left alone, she prays to the Virgin that Agustín might be saved. To her surprise, she beholds Agustín, his eyes bandaged, following Herejía. His guide tells him to use her eyes, but he complains that her vision is to him all darkness. Verdad now appears, and declares that she will show Agustín his destination; she removes the bandages, and he sees an inferno. "¡Oh falso error maniqueo!" he bursts out. Comforted by the vision, Mónica expresses her faith that with God's intervention Agustín will be led out of his error.

Two veiled ladies on the way to church are approached by Tracio and Furio, galanes. All the men receive is an invitation to

¹Aguilar III, 214.

²Ibid.

attend services. Mario and Turón, the two beggars, enter, Mario complaining about his bad leg.

Agustín bursts upon the stage in anger. He has just learned that this convocation was called to pray for him and his error. He cannot bear the thought of so many persons praying that his genius, which is his life, be diminished. Alipio suggests that Ambrosio does not fear him; any one who stood up to Caesar as he did need not fear Agustín. The future saint goes to Ambrosio; and when Ambrosio invokes God's help for the battle, Agustín promises that he will yield if God assists Ambrosio. They go offstage for the discussion.

Herejía, complaining that such saints as Ambrosio ruin all her plans for the destruction of the church, tries to prompt Agustín in his reasoning, thus giving the audience some idea of the argument. Finally she announces that Agustín has given up. As the two men return to the stage, Agustín asserts that he does not have the answers, but he will write a paper.

Alone, Agustín prays for light, declaring that he is wounded with the arrow of God's love. An angel appears and hands him the epistles of Paul, with instructions to read. Agustín turns to Romans and reads, "Vestíos de Jesucristo."¹ Wondering how he can do this when Christ is so good and he is so evil, Agustín remembers that His garment was torn for him, and he will try to comply.

Herejía emerges, solving problems by describing the action to the audience. She informs us that Agustín is seeking baptism,

¹Ibid., p. 219; Romans 13:14.

and, to make a last effort to stall him, she calls for a demon in the form of Africana. Agustín asks her to leave him. When she suggests that they might go together on the road that he has chosen, he rejects the idea and leaves. Herejía and the demon, who is now specified as Satan, lament the loss of their greatest victim since Adam and Paul. They relate to the audience the details of Agustín's baptism, a scene which is not revealed until the ceremony has just been completed. Ambrosio and Agustín praise God in the manner of a responsive reading based on Psalms. Mónica mentions her past tears and present joy, and declares that the success of the Augustinian Rule has been revealed to her by the Virgin. Simpliciano predicts that the popes will grant immunities and privileges to the followers of Augustine. The saint himself, now free from his Manichean error, gives thanks to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

Herejía and Satan, still dressed as Africana, inform us that time has passed, and that Agustín, Alipio, Deodato, and Mónica are approaching the port of Ostia, ready to return to Africa. Mónica suggests that her life is no longer useful, and that her song is like that of Simeon.¹ She expresses in prayer her confidence that God will make her son a light of the church for the glory of His people. Deodato asks how he will fare without her guidance, on which he has so long depended. Mónica replies prophetically that he is a dwelling of God, and that soon he will go to God's dwelling. She asks that

¹Luke 2:29-32.

her body be left at Ostia. On a cloud, a Child appears and greets Mónica as "esposa regalada" and "querida amiga mía."

Acto tercero

Alipio describes to Eboro Agustín's return to Africa, his recognition by Bishop Valerio of Hippo, his founding a monastery, his humility, his zeal and his saintliness. Alipio further declares that the Manicheans are losing their minds under the pressure of Agustín's truths.

Agustín announces to Donato and Fortunato that because they are Manicheans, he is exiling them.¹ They resolve to kill Agustín.

As Agustín writes, the devil gloats that there are still evil people within the church. Agustín praises Him who took the form of a servant, and the Holy Trinity. The devil, calling himself Luzbel and referring to his earlier position as cherub, makes his presence known. Agustín inquires about a book Luzbel carries and is told it is a book of sins, beginning with that of Cain. Agustín discovers that there is one in the book for him: he failed to pray some completas. He excuses himself and goes inside.² When he returns and asks to see the sin, it is gone. Luzbel, in an access of indignation, leaves.

A woman approaches Agustín, but he asserts that he does not wish to raise his head. She understands that he wishes to avoid looking at a woman. Her problem is that a man has deceived her.

¹Why does he not make an effort to convert them?

²Cannot Luzbel guess why?

When Agustín does not reply, she thinks he has fallen asleep; then she decides that he is ignoring her; then, seeing the light around the saint, his posture, and the Holy Trinity nearby, she realizes that he is in vision. A voice explains that he did not answer because in contemplation of such great things, the world had to be left behind.

Walking on the beach, Agustín meditates on the Trinity. He reviews how God's Son was equal to His own Being. Finding a child catching sea water in a piece of shell and pouring it into a hole, Agustín tells him that he is laboring in vain, and that he should deal in matters suitable for his age. The child answers that that would also be good advice for Agustín, for it is impossible to reduce the Ocean of God to the narrowness of human understanding. Agustín expresses gratitude and praise for this rebuff. As he continues his walk, a voice warns him to change directions, so as to avoid the death plotted for him by Fortunato and Donato.

Simpliciano and Alipio discuss the vast quantity of Agustín's writings. From Alipio it is learned that Deodato has died.

Simpliciano praises God for Agustín's conversion, but wonders when he will see the church properly held up, as his vision indicated. A voice now calls him, and he is shown the church upheld by Ambrosio, Gregorio, Jerónimo, and Agustín.

Lidio and others bring in a demoniac woman. Agustín orders the demon to leave her, and he does, but only after he has vowed to avenge himself and predicted the Goths' coming to Africa. He further

declares that Agustín will die of anguish on seeing Hippo besieged. The woman falls, free of the demon; Agustín admonishes those who brought her to take her to church and give thanks.

Alipio observes that Agustín has been plunged into confusion by the news about the Goths. He falls asleep, and is granted a vision of Agustín kneeling between images of the Virgin and of Christ. Later, Alipio and three friars learn that Agustín expects death. He explains that it is the only way he can escape the fierce Goths and the world, and, like Paul, go to Christ. He commits to the friars the extension of his order, hoping that the name of the Virgin will spread around the world. He asks them to love each other, remembering that Christ, shortly before His death, asked his followers to love each other. He mourns that Africa is a lake of blood. Lidio announces that Ulderico the Goth is approaching, devastating the land, and he suggests that the gates of Hippo be opened to prevent their destruction. As the group turns to Agustín for advice and a word against the Goths, they discover that he is dead.

Some soldiers, with Ulderico restraining them, enter. He insists that they respect this place, and asks to see Agustín. The saint is revealed, dressed as a bishop, with a crozier, the church in his hand, heresy at his feet, and some books. The leader of the Goths is so impressed that he resolves to excuse Hippo from destruction.

Observations

Identity of the Saints

St. Augustine of Hippo (354-430) was a native of Tagaste in North Africa. "In spite of his early training by his mother St. Monica, he spent his youth in vice, and all but became a Manichean."¹ He taught rhetoric successively at Tagaste, Carthage, Rome, and Milan. Influenced by St. Ambrose, the epistles of St. Paul, and some neo-platonistic writings, he was baptized at the age of thirty-two by St. Ambrose. In 391, he was ordained as a priest at Hippo, and three years later was named coadjutor-bishop of that city.

From this time on he devoted all his energy and extraordinary intellectual gifts to the defense of Christian faith and morals and to the refutation of heresy and schism. . . . He is the Doctor of Grace and the Oracle of the Western Church. His leading ideas and principles on religious life are still followed. . . . He is one of the most prolific, and certainly the most influential, of all the doctors. His two works, the Confessions and the City of God, are reckoned among the world's classics. In his life he is a miracle of divine grace, since even the child of his sin, Adeodatus, is now venerated as a saint.²

St. Augustine is the patron of brewers, printers, and theologians.³

St. Monica (332-387) had Christian parents, but bore three children to a pagan husband. "Through her patience and gentleness she converted her husband, and after his death her prayers and tears were rewarded by the return of Augustine to the practice of the

¹BKSts, p. 79.

²Ibid. Strangely, Adeodatus is not given an individual listing in BKSts; therefore he will not be included here.

³Wedge, pp. 55, 61, 64.

Catholic faith."¹ She was with him at Rome when he was baptized. She died the same year at Ostia, as they were returning to Africa. St. Monica is the patron of mothers.²

St. Ambrose (c. 340-397) was born in Gaul, where his father, a Roman noble, was praetorian prefect. Ambrose became a lawyer at Rome, and before he was thirty-five was named governor of Liguria and Aemilia with headquarters at Milan. When in 374 the bishop of Milan died, Ambrose, as governor, went to the cathedral to protect the order of the election of the new bishop. A child was heard to cry out, "Ambrose for bishop," and, over his objections, Ambrose was elected by acclamation.

He proved to be one of the greatest and most beloved bishops of all time. He excelled as an administrator, as a writer, as a protector of the poor, as the "hammer of Arianism." He was prompt and outspoken in withstanding the tyranny of the emperors. His courage in reproving Theodosius the Great was a noble example of Christian heroism. . . . He is one of the four great Latin Fathers and Doctors.³

St. Simplician died in 400. He was a friend and adviser of St. Ambrose, whom he succeeded as bishop of Milan. Already an old man, he directed the see only three years. He played a leading part in the conversion of St. Augustine, by whom he was always gratefully remembered.⁴

St. Alipius, who died about 430, was the disciple and lifelong friend of St. Augustine. They were baptized together on

¹BkSts., pp. 429-430.

²Wedge, p. 60.

³BkSts., p. 40.

⁴Ibid., p. 544.

the eve of Easter, 387. St. Alipius, after visiting Palestine, became bishop of Tagaste about 393 and assisted St. Augustine in all his public work.¹

There are one female and four male saints in El divino africano. All were of the fourth century of the Christian era. The four men were bishops. Augustine and Ambrose are revered as doctors of the church. St. Augustine was a founder, and both he and St. Monica are patron saints.

Qualities of the Saints

Before his conversion, Agustín calls himself the "águila del mundo"² and complains loudly about ignorant people praying for him whose genius is his life. Before entering into debate with Ambrosio, however, he meekly commends himself to God, volunteering that he will yield if God is with Ambrosio. He sincerely prays for divine guidance as he weighs Arianism against orthodoxy.

After San Agustín's conversion, he is praised by Alipio for his zeal, humility, and saintliness. Simpliciano considers him a second Paul, a seraph, a "santo doctor."³ Even the devil admits that Agustín is an apostolic Roman, a light for Catholicism and a lash for her opponents. As the saint lies dying, friars mention his virtue, his saintliness, his "tesoros infinitos de ciencia y de caridad."⁴ Such was the reputation of San Agustín. Among his views is noted a

¹Ibid., p. 32.

²Aguilar III, 214.

³Ibid., p. 228.

⁴Ibid., p. 231.

conviction that a demon is in an insane person; when he casts out the demon, he commendably instructs the victim to praise God, not him. The saint refuses to lift his head when a woman comes to him for help. She concludes that he wishes to avoid looking at a woman, and calls his reaction saintliness and purity. This scene and the vision granted the saint while the woman speaks suggest not only that women were a very real temptation to him, but that heaven approved of his efforts to resist. Though he considers the child's object lesson with the sea water a rebuke, he submissively expresses his gratitude for it. On the negative side, note is taken of Agustín's refusal to consider the suggestion that he and Africana live together as Christian man and wife, although celibacy has not always been required for the priesthood; we note--though this statement was made before his conversion--that he prefers poetry to the searching problems of theology; and we wonder why, as bishop, he merely exiled Fortunato and Donato, instead of endeavoring to convert them. We can hardly blame him, as a man of seventy-six, for preferring death over witnessing the siege of Hippo.

Santa Mónica is portrayed as praying tearfully and working diligently for her son's conversion. Her faith is an abiding one; she expresses trust that, with God as intercessor, her son will be saved, and after his conversion, she dies in peace, confident that God will make him a beacon for the church. She possesses also a gift of prophecy, for just before her death she predicts that of Deodato.

San Ambrosio is remembered for his fearlessness in challenging the emperor, and insisting that he go to confession. For this feat, however, the saint humbly gives God the credit. He also depends upon God in his debate with Agustín. Herejía complains that when her sophistries take highest flight, there comes a beam of light like Ambrosio to burn their wings.

The prayers and the faith of San Simpliciano are outstanding. He prays earnestly for the eradication of Arianism, for Agustín to come out of heresy, and for the guidance of the church. In Act II, Simpliciano compares Agustín's position to that of Paul, and expresses faith that a similar miracle, if necessary, will be performed for Agustín's conversion. Simpliciano has the gift of prophecy, predicting near the end of Act II the rise and success of the Augustinian Order.

San Alipio agrees that a prophet is not honored in his own country. Evidently not sharing his friend's tendencies toward Manicheism, he tries to persuade Agustín to leave off his speculations and go to church. Later, in another effort to help his heretical friend, he urges Agustín to talk with Ambrosio.

Theology, Miracles, and Demonology

Perhaps because of its emphatic attack against Manicheism and Arianism, El divino africano contains a substantial defense of the doctrines of the Trinity and of the deity of Christ. Santa Mónica deals with these points at some length early in Act I, and San Agustín returns to the same subjects in a third-act monologue.

The struggle between Michael and Lucifer is mentioned by Santa Mónica; and in Act II, Luzbel refers to his former estate as cherub.¹

Mariology is unusually emphasized in this play. Santa Mónica, early in Act II, addresses to the Virgin a sonnet consisting of one line of request and thirteen lines of such adoring phrases as "estrella de Jacob" and "arca y arco de paz y redención."² Later in the same act, Mónica declares,

Mira que la Virgen Santa,
azucena, lirio y huerto,
torre de David, oliva,
fuente, rosa, palma, espejo,
me revela lo que digo.³

San Agustín prays to Christ and the Virgin as follows:

Vos sois sacerdote santo
y vos la sacerdotisa
del altar de aquella misa
en que Dios nos ama tanto.
.
.
.
Vos quien salva el mundo, y vos
la puerta por quien se salva.⁴

The doctrine of eternal torment appears in El divino africano. In Act II, Herejía declares that the originator of Manicheanism is burning in eternal fire; and Santa Mónica raises a valid question when she asks,

¹See Rev. 12:7-9 and Ezek. 28:14-16.

²Aguilar III, p. 215.

³Ibid., p. 221.

⁴Ibid., p. 230. Cf. 1 Tim. 2:5 and Acts 4:12.

Pues ¿cómo en gozo eterno
he de ver a Agustín en el infierno?¹

Along with the belief in ternal torment is the teaching of the inherent immortality of the soul and its immediate passage to heaven at death. When Alipio affirms that Mónica has died, Agustín contradicts,

Mal dices; que acaba
el cuerpo, para vivir
en Dios para siempre el alma.²

Alipio makes a similar assertion about Deodato, and when Agustín dies, Alipio declares

Ya goza la eterna gloria;
ya el alma santa partió.³

El divino africano, like El santo negro Rosambuco, contains the idea that a devil inhabits a person who is insane. San Ambrosio reveals his conviction that the priest stands in the place of Christ when he asserts "Soy Cristo."⁴

Arianism is attacked in El divino africano, and Manicheanism is bitterly condemned. The emperor expresses his hope, and Simpliciano prays, that Ambrosio will be instrumental in stamping out Arianism, that doctrine which denies that Christ pre-existed with the Father and shares His divine nature. Such phrases as "barbaric Persian" and "eternal fire" are levelled against the originator of

¹Aguilar III, p. 210. Cf. Mal. 4:1, Ezek. 28:18, Obad. 16, Ps. 145:20, Zech. 14:12.

²Aguilar III, p. 221.

³Ibid., p. 232. Cf. Eccl. 9:5, I Thess. 4:15-17, etc.

⁴Aguilar III, p. 211.

the Manicheans, who subscribed to a combination of the dualism of Zoroastrianism and the belief in the Saviour of Christianity.

Miracles in El divino africano are numerous. The first one is described rather than enacted: we learn from Mónica that an angel has told her that Agustín will be where she is. In answer to Simpliciano's prayer, a divine voice reassures him, and he is shown a church partially supported by saints. In Act II, Mónica is given a vision of Agustín being led by a personification of heresy, then rescued by one of truth. Agustín's prayer is answered by an angel who hands him the epistles of Paul. At Mónica's death, she is greeted by the Child Jesus, riding a cloud. In Act III, Agustín is miraculously lifted into a representation of the Trinity, all in the presence of a woman who had come for help; an unseen speaker explains the vision to her. Agustín is later given an object lesson by "un Niño," who, pouring water from the sea into a little hole, explains that there are mysteries of God which surpass human understanding. A supernatural voice warns the saint about the plotters who await him. Simpliciano is again shown a vision of the church, this time supported at all four corners, Agustín being one of the pillars. Alipio is given a prophetic view of Agustín at the feet of Christ and St. Mary.

El divino africano also has its share of demonic manifestations. Early in Act II, in an allegorical spectacle, Agustín is seen being led by Heresy, companion of Satan. Heresy also explains some of the offstage action. The devil takes the form of Africana in an

effort to tempt Agustín. Herejía and Satan explain unseen action and inform the audience as to the passage of time. In the third act, the devil tries to mislead St. Augustine, but is tricked by the saint and forced to praise him. The devil whom Agustín casts out of a woman rebukes the saint as a Manichean rebel, and prophesies of the Goths' coming to Africa.

The Play

Based on St. Augustine's famous Confessions, El divino africano may be a revision of an earlier La conversión de San Agustín, condemned by the Inquisition in 1608. El divino africano, though possibly written as early as 1610, was not published until 1623, in the eighteenth Parte of Lope's works.¹

El divino africano is representative of the early method of the dramatist in his comedias de santos: vignettes and tableaux, many of them with spectacular effects, held together only by the personalities of the saints. The author did not succeed in dramatizing the conflict in the young man's soul, nor did he manage the subtle conflict between Augustine's Manicheanism and Ambrose's orthodoxy, preferring rather to personify truth and error as though the work were an auto sacramental.²

Humor is almost completely absent. There is one scene, evidently interpolated for relief, in which two beggars make remarks

¹Astrana Marín, pp. 276-277.

²See Vossler, Lope de Vega y su tiempo, p. 276.

about the bad leg of one of them: "Esta pierna está hoy descomulgada."¹ There is no subplot. The rather sudden vision given to Simpliciano at the end of Act I promises the conversion of Agustín, thus removing whatever element of suspense might have existed between Acts I and II. Act II contains the conversion of the saint and the peaceful death of his mother, thus leaving nothing to be resolved in Act III. Perhaps this lack of development and climax in the plot of the play helps explain Menéndez y Pelayo's view of it, and especially of Act III, as a "vulgarísima comedia de santos, llena de apariciones y tramoyas."² The play covers too much; a substantial part of its story is merely related to the audience, and the excessive number of characters almost turns the work into a pageant.

In addition to Vossler and Astrana Marín,³ Sainz de Robles⁴ has discussed El divino africano.

¹Aguilar III, 216.

²Acad. IV, lxxxviii.

³See the third and fourth preceding notes.

⁴Lope de Vega: Retrato, pp. 323-324.

Barlán y Josafá, comedia¹

First lines. Príncipe: ¿Posible es que desta suerte
pasas tanto amor, Cardán?

Last lines. Josafá: de Barlán y Josafá
la primera parte acaba.

CHARACTERS²

*Josafá, príncipe	Un general	Telemalo
Abenir, rey	Un viejo	Barquero
*Barlán, ermitaño	Un pobre, cojo	Laurencia, labradora
Cardán, caballero	Tres mujeres	Rufino, labrador
Leucipe, dama	Un ángel	Liseno, labrador
Demonio, de galán	Baraquías, galán	Otro labrador
Bato, labrador	Anaximandro	Fabio, músico
Un librero	Fulbino	Un alguacil

Acto primero

Prince Josafá has come to realize that he is imprisoned. He tells Cardán that his teachers have described to him the earthly world and the heavenly world; now he wonders why he cannot see even the earth and sky. Cardán explains that the prince's father, Abenir, Indian king, was determined to protect his son from Christianity,

¹Aguilar III, 134-164. Written about 1611.

²The two saints are indicated by asterisks. Josafá's lines are marked "Prínc." in Acts I and II, "Jos." in Act III. The demonio is called Floro when he appears in the play. In the summary, the spelling "Barlaán" is used because the name is so spelled in the text of the play.

that strange religion the adherents of which live in forests and deserts. So, to keep the lad from learning from some monk or hermit, and to protect him from death and pain, this palace was built and he has been secluded here. The prince promises Cardán a reward for his friendship and information.

The king, asking Josafá about his tutors, is surprised when Josafá replies that they left because of sadness. The king concludes that nature and the youth's intelligence have taught him much, and grants him permission to leave. But he instructs Cardán to surround the prince with staff members so as to prevent his seeing anything that might cause sadness. The king complains about the Christians, wondering how a hundred thousand seem to appear where there was only one. Cardán, in spite of having spoken rather favorably of Christianity to the prince, agrees that they should be slain.

The songs of workers make the prince declare that his sadness is leaving him. He is told about the city, the streets, the shops, and the work of merchants, tailors, silversmiths, bridle makers, shoemakers, and painters. The prince asserts that painters who work with sacred subjects are imitators of heaven. He meets a bookseller who claims to employ ten men translating good books. The prince looks at books by Aristotle, Homer, and others and then the Old Testament, in Hebrew. He reads the first verse of Genesis and asks that all these books be taken to his apartments.

A general with some attendants and the beautiful Leucipe approach. The captain accompanying Josafá explains that the general has defeated a king and brought back his daughter as a captive,

probably to be disposed of as Josafá sees fit. The prince asks why she is weeping, and she replies that he should know that to lose one's liberty is to lose his most precious possession. The general mentions the transitory nature of life, but the captain interrupts to prevent his further informing the prince as to hardship, sadness, and so on.

Leucipe asserts that Josafá has inspired confidence in her, and her loss already seems more bearable. The prince confides to the captain that women please him, but only "casta y limpiamente." The captain, who does not ask how the prince knew about any kind of love, replies that he is talking about the platonic sort.

A judge or bailiff appears, shoving two men before him. Questioned, he explains that he is dispatching them because the prince is to see nothing unpleasant. But he has already seen the two men, and is curious about the legs of the lame one. The crippled man, seeing that illness is new to the young prince, launches into a veritable catalog of sicknesses. The other man explains that he is being sent away because he is too old to be useful. Asked what he will do, he replies, "Die." Josafá, who let all the illnesses slide by, asks what dying is. The aged man explains that it is the separation of soul from body, the passage of the soul to its reward or punishment.

Josafá has heard enough. He orders every one away and, in rather rapid and weak reasoning, decides that if death exists, there must also be a God, and if God exists, He must be one God, author of life and death. He promises his soul to this God, praying for light.

Barlaán, an old hermit, is seen making baskets out of mat-weed. He paraphrases the Psalmist's question, "What is man, that thou art mindful of him?"¹ Expressing an earnest desire to serve God, scorn himself, and love his Redeemer, Barlaán asks how he might be useful. An angel appears and instructs him to change clothes and make ready for a miraculous flight to India, where he is to teach the son of the king. Barlaán trusts the angel, declaring that if Habakkuk was carried by the hair,² this hermit can be transported to the Ganges, where he will be a Daniel among the lions.

Acto segundo

Barlaán, as a jewel merchant, describes his stones to Cardán. He has one, he declares, which outshines the sun; but only the pure in heart can behold it. It was once sold for thirty coins, but he has brought it as a gift for the prince. This precious stone means eternal life to the owner; it has three divine essences; it has been said to taste like bread; it was found in a manger; it is similar to God:

En su pecho soberano
la engendró su entendimiento.³

Leucipe delivers a monologue, to mark the passage of time and to inform us that she is enamoured of the prince. Fabio, a musician, agrees to sing to him of Apollo and Daphne in an effort to stir his emotions.

¹Ps. 8:4.

²See p. 349, note 2.

³Aguilar III, 144. Cf. John 1:18.

Barlaán and the prince emerge, and it is clear from the conversation that the prince has been thoroughly instructed in Christianity. He requests immediate baptism. Cardán, eavesdropping, is amazed at what the precious stone has turned out to be; he rushes away to inform the king.

Barlaán exhorts the young prince to have faith in God; Josafá promises to be faithful unto death. When next they are seen, the baptism has just taken place,¹ and Barlaán announces that he can now return to his desert.

The angry king sends men after Barlaán and listens to Cardán's suggestion that Josafá's servants be dismissed and only women allowed to serve him; with their wives, he will soon yield and be brought to the state of subjection his father desires. The ruler declares to the prince that except for his distrust of the youth's mental state, he would kill him. The prince replies that he would be fortunate, for thus he would have a new life. He prays for the welfare of Barlaán.

Fabio comes to sing of Venus and Adonis,² but Josafá soon stops him and speaks to him about Christ. Alone again, he prays for ways in which to try to repay the love of God. He renews his prayers for Barlaán.

¹As in El divino africano and El santo negro Rosambuco, the baptismal scene begins immediately after the ceremony has taken place.

²The original plan (see above) was to sing of Apollo and Daphne.

When the prince summons a servant, Leucipe enters. Prompted by the devil, she reasons with Josafá about his need for a wife. He vows he will resist her. Somehow, the prince is washed and dressed by the women; then, alone again with him, Leucipe tries to convince him that he could save her by marrying her, thus following Paul's admonition about saving one's mate. Josafá, admitting that her beauty is getting the best of him, orders her to leave him for a while. He wonders why he should not marry if by so doing he can save a soul for whom the blood of Christ was shed. Sleep overtakes him. Suddenly a city and an inferno appear; a voice concealed by the city sings that the beautiful city is for the just and pure, and from the inferno a voice laments that this imprisonment is inherited through appetite and desire. Josafá sees the point and prays for clemency. When the women return, he dismisses Leucipe and all of them.

In compliance with Cardán's next suggestion, the king agrees to restore peace by dividing the kingdom and sending Josafá to rule on the other side of the Ganges. It is so ordered. The king, however, hints that his faith is growing, and that if one is to yield to Christ, it would not seem right not to love Him. A captain enters to announce that the best citizens are leaving with Josafá because his religion is better. The king concludes that Christ is the true God.

Two caballeros serve the purpose of informing us that both parts of the kingdom are now Christian, by wish or by force. One of the men ascribes the change in the king to Josafá's prayers.

Cardán brings news that hardly had the aged king been baptized when he died, going on to an eternal kingdom.

Josafá announces to his subjects that he is leaving to seek his salvation in the deserts. He hands his royal robes to Baraquías, whom he has chosen for his saintliness, and asks for the sackcloth and hairshirt left behind by Barlaán.

Acto tercero

In an expository passage, Liseno and Rufino, shepherds, make it clear that we are in the wilderness. Laurencia explains to another shepherd that she seeks the advice of the old hermit; the heads of her village want her to marry, and she believes that something which lasts as long as life itself should be gone into carefully.

Bato, "labrador gracioso," complains that as he was crossing a swollen stream, his wife was drowned; and, as if that were not enough, his burra was also lost. He threatens to hang himself, but elects to follow Rufino's advice to seek counsel from Barlaán.

Josafá praises the holy solitude, away from the storms of life. He and Barlaán greet each other tenderly, the hermit commending the prince for leaving a kingdom for the desert. Learning that Josafá is an ordained priest, the aged hermit kneels at his feet. They agree that earthly kingdoms are nothing in comparison with the heavenly one, which they can gain here through faith and works.

Leucipe asks directions to Josafá, admitting, however, that she is driven by some "furia infernal." As she searches for Josafá, glimpses are obtained of a number of the hermits. One wears a steel

crown which would pierce his flesh if he fell asleep; another wears chains about his feet; another carries a burden on his shoulders; and another stays on a cross.

Bato wanders of to Josafá, announcing that he has been searching for six days for a certain hermit, a prince who left all for Christ. He asks Josafá to pray that his wife and donkey might be restored to him, adding that if he cannot have both, the burra is more useful. Josafá suggests that this experience should be a warning to him. The shepherd resolves to become a hermit.

Leucipe places her proposal squarely before Josafá: they will serve God as husband and wife, and return to the kingdom. He reminds her that he is a priest and cannot marry. When she nevertheless threatens to embrace him, he calls for divine aid, and an offstage voice is heard exclaiming that Josafá has won the battle.

Bato trembles at the prospect of following Josafá's advice to obtain hermit's clothing from the body of a hermit who has just died. Leucipe declares to Bato that she has been dead in sin but is alive from this day.

Emerging dressed as a hermit, Bato complains about the solitude. Asked by Laurencia how long he has been a hermit, he replies, "At least an hour." Offered food by the shepherds, Bato asks for a drink, also, and specifies that it not be diluted. A noise of approaching bulls is heard, and Bato is knocked down by one.

Josafá laments that high water keeps him from crossing to where Barlaán is. The devil, as boatman, offers to take him across.

In midstream, he threatens to drown the saint. Bato, from the shore, observes that Josafá is in danger; and he also sees that, in answer to the saint's pleas for help, an angel takes him to shore. Bato is further amazed to see the drenched Josafá coming out of a river which is suddenly so dry that the fish are dying.

Barlaán joins Bato and Josafá to declare that God has revealed to him that there is a saint in the area who has done more good in days than many do in years. Bato is in awe of these strange people who would rather talk about heaven than food.

Leucipe comes to Bato and asks to confess, for she is dying. Bato reminds her that he has not been ordained, and they start in search of Barlaán and Josafá. Meanwhile, the devil again takes Leucipe's form and declares his intention to tempt Josafá, who now appears, inquiring as to the whereabouts of the one who wants confession, according to the voices he heard among the trees. The devil, as Leucipe, bluntly proposes bed; but Josafá resists. Barlaan enters to state that he confessed the dying saint, who turned out to be Leucipe. Josafá looks among the branches for the Leucipe he just saw, thinking she took her own life; finding nothing, he goes with Barlaán. When the bells begin tolling, as they always do, of their own accord, when a hermit dies, Bato, Laurencia, and others join the two men; and soon they discover Leucipe, at the foot of a cross, where she died pledging her love and faith. Bato goes to bring the villagers to behold this penitent woman.

The play ends with the promise of a second part.

Observations

Identity of the Saints

The Book of Saints,¹ under 'Barlaam and Josaphat (SS)," makes this entry:

? These two supposed saints are the protagonists of a Christian version of a Buddhist romance. The present Greek text dates from the 7th century and was popularized by St. John Damascene. . . .

That these two saints are fictional is no longer questioned.

Qualities of the Saints

Josafá displays a sense of justice even before his conversion; he proposes that it is not fair for him to dispose of Leucipe when he had no share in winning the battle. That he is reasonable and thoughtful is also seen in his effort to reason his way to God. An interesting opinion expressed before his conversion is that painters of religious subjects are imitators of heaven.

After his conversion, Josafá is immediately willing to die for his Saviour, explaining that death is merely the doorway to a new life. He requests immediate baptism; and he desires to imitate the life of Barlaán, whom he considers perfect, as Elisha followed Elijah. Josafá remembers to thank God for his regeneration through baptism. He prays twice for the safety of Barlaán, who is pursued by officers of the king. That his prayers are effective may be understood from Barlaán's escape, and later, from the conversion of

the king. Josafá believes that death will reveal that a hermit is richer than a king; he praises solitude as a holy estate, removed from the storms of life. His renounced throne he considers a dream, an idolatrous image. He is characterized as a humble person; immediately after his abdication, he asks for sackcloth and a hair-shirt, and when Bato calls him a saint, the former ruler claims only to be dust, a great sinner. He considers that misfortunes are warnings from God; he suggests that one should ask reasonable things of God; and in his farewell speech to those who will rule after him, he urges that nothing be done without prior consultation with God. Fabio, the musician, considers Josafá comparable to the ermine.

Josafá's attitude toward women is that he can do without them. He declares his determination to resist, but later, under stress, he admits that the ties of women are strong. After the vision of heaven and hell, however, he is resolved; "viles mujeres" and agents of eternal destruction, he calls them. "Suelta, enemiga," he cries when Leucipe tries to embrace him. And her suggestion that they marry and return to rule as Christians he terms a malicious ambition.

There are two questions one might raise about Josafá. Why did he never give Cardán the reward promised for information on the outside world? When the devil appeared to him as Leucipe and seemed bent on suicide, why did he not try to stop her?

Barlaán displays many of the characteristic qualities of the saint as found in the Golden Age drama. He quotes Scripture; he praises his Creator; he pleads for guidance as to how best to serve;

he considers money an enemy. He has great faith, committing himself unhesitatingly to the angel who transports him to the capital of Abenir's kingdom, and later declaring that hope in God is never lost. His life is marked by miracles, also; it is declared in Act III that he has restored many to life. The ever-present quality of humility is seen when Barlaán, learning that Josafá is an ordained priest, kneels at his feet. That idleness is not Barlaán's preference is discerned in his declaration that heaven is brought into sight by works and faith. The only question one might raise is whether Barlaán was entirely truthful in his posing to Cardán as a jewel merchant.

Theology, Miracles, and Demonology

The immortality of the soul and its immediate reward at death are mentioned at least twice in Barlaán y Josafá. The lot of the hermit is praised on two occasions; and asceticism is rampant in Act III as the hermits are revealed with their painful crowns, chains, crosses, and burdens. Barlaán is somewhat confused in his Bible history when he twice places the Tower of Babel before the Flood, calling the confusion of tongues God's first punishment.¹ The two saints in Act II review doctrines already studied, including the love of God, the fall of some of the angels, the origin of death and sin, milestones in the history of ancient Israel, the promise of the Redeemer and His

¹Aguilar III, pp. 142, 143.

birth to the Virgin Mary, His resurrection and ascension, the work of the Holy Spirit, the founding of the church, and the sacraments.

The dramatist offers a contradiction in a comparison of Leucipe's first-act declaration that liberty is one's most precious possession with the assertion in Act II that the whole kingdom, "por fuerza o por voluntad,"¹ is now Christian.

Miracles in Barlaán y Josafá include the appearance to Barlaán of an angel who carries him by the hair to India, the vision given Josafá of the holy city and the inferno, the angel's deliverance of Josafá from the demonic boatman and the swollen river, which suddenly dries up, and the mysterious tolling of the bells upon the death of a hermit.

The power of the devil in this play is directed mainly at Josafá. Appearing as Floro, a gallant, the devil seeks to goad Leucipe into personifying the temptations of the flesh. With him as her prompter, Leucipe quotes Scripture more than once in her endeavors to win Josafá. In Act III, the devil appears as a boatman who offers to see Josafá across a dangerous river only to try to kill him before they reach the other side. The devil then assumes Leucipe's identity in a final effort to ruin the saint, even going so far as to appear to be committing suicide.

¹Ibid., p. 152.

The Play

Possible sources for Barlaán y Josafá include La Vida de San Josafat (Barcelona, 1494), by Francisco Alegre; La silva curiosa, by Medrano; the Flos Sanctorum, in several editions, that of 1594 in Cuenca being particularly well received; and Los soldados de Cristo, attributed to San Juan Damasceno and prepared in Castilian by Arce Solórzano in 1603.¹

The story is an adaptation to Christian lines of the story of Buddha. Lope de Vega's play is similar to Calderón's La vida es sueño in that the protagonist must make some serious decisions based on will and reason, into which choice, faith, and conviction have entered.²

Except for the beggar's first-act catalog of illnesses, which sounds like something from Gilbert and Sullivan, humor is present only in Act III, where Bato serves as gracioso. Bato is not particularly crude, but he does approach a burlesque level. He fears removing the clothing from a dead hermit; he innocently refers to Barlaán as "el gran padre Barrabás"; he asks for the restoration to life of his drowned wife and donkey, but particularly the donkey, for it was more useful; and, in a bit of slapstick, he is knocked down by a bull.

The dramatist apparently gave some thought to the period and location of the play. In Act I, the respect given to aged persons is suggestive of Oriental customs. The books mentioned by

¹Farinelli, p. 314.

²Zamora Vicente, p. 244.

the bookseller--Aristotle, Galen, Homer, Hippocrates, and the Old Testament--sound sufficiently ancient. But the hermits, shepherds, and farm hands sound much more like Golden Age Spain than like India.

There is no subplot in Barlaán y Josafá. Lope chose to develop neither the prince's inner conflict nor the conflict between the two religions. Even the onslaught of Leucipe is designed merely to prove the purity and saintliness of the protagonist.¹ The play is somewhat like El divino africano in that conflicts are removed by the end of Act II. Indeed, Act III of Barlaán y Josafá opens with a group of new characters and some exposition, needed to tell the audience where they are, and why.

In addition to the writers cited above, Astrana Marín² and Vossler³ mention the play briefly. A definitive edition has been prepared by Montesinos.⁴

¹See Diego Marín, pp. 139-140.

²p. 283.

³Lope de Vega y su tiempo, p. 354.

⁴Lope de Vega, Barlaán y Josafat, ed. José F. Montesinos ("Teatro antiguo español, textos y estudios," Vol. VII; Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1935).

El Serafín humano, comedia famosa
de Lope de Vega Carpio¹

First lines.	Octavio:	No son feas.
	Francisco:	Ni aun hermosas.
	Octavio:	Bien cubren con el donaire sus defectos. . . .
Last lines.	Gil:	Aquí, devoto senado, se da a la primera parte fin de <u>El Serafín humano.</u>

CHARACTERS²

*Francisco	Feliciano	Dos criados
Octavio	Pedro Bernardo	*Fray Gil
Camila	Lucio	Fray Bernardo
Celia	Fabio	*Santa Clara
Silvia	Un cura	Silvestre
Un escudero	Un sacristán	Julio
Un loco	Unos muchachos	Firmio
Un pobre	La madre de San Francisco	Fray León
Un Niño	El Pontífice	Fray Junípero
Dos capitanes	El guardián	El Demonio
La Carne		*Santo Domingo

¹Acad. IV, 271-312.

²The saints, Francis, Claire, and Dominic, are marked by asterisks, as is Gil, a beatus. Horacio and Nicolás seem to be one person. The last character listed, El Serafín, is not shown on p. 271 of Acad. IV; but he both appears and speaks in the play, and the lines reveal that he is Christ. Three devils appear in Act II; and Act III closes with a spectacle in which are seen many saints not listed here.

Un compañero suyo	Un ángel
Un ciudadano	Un soldado
Unas monjas	Horacio
Una niña	Nicolás
Un labrador	Liseno
Tomé	Olimpo
Simón	El Serafín
} villanos porquerizos	
} estudiantes	
Dos pobres	

Acto primero

Set in Italy at the dawn of the thirteenth century, the play opens as Francisco and Octavio, as galanes, discuss the unfortunate aspects of aging, especially as it affects women. Francisco suggests that the aging of a beautiful woman is as tragic as the fall of Troy.

Camila and her daughters Celia and Silvia now emerge, with their old escudero. Francisco obtains permission to visit Celia. Celia's comment, aside, is "¡Lindo pez!" The mother and the old servant view Francisco in a similar light; he would make a fine provider, because he is a merchant. As Francisco seeks to learn their address from the escudero, the old man wheedles him out of one garment after another until Francisco, in desperation, hands him his wallet, concluding that if the girls are like their servant, neither his father's possessions nor his mother's jewels would last an hour.

An insane man, refusing to allow Francisco to pass, delivers himself of a number of symbolic comparisons of Francisco with Christ.

He calls the young man a new Jacob's ladder, and promises future greatness.

Celia is reminded by her mother of the advantages of being married to such a fine gentleman (and successful merchant!) as Francisco. Celia promises to do her best, and Camila and Silvia leave her the field.

Mascón, the old escudero, describes his glee at having discovered Silvia murmuring sweet nothings into her mirror. She blushed at being spied on, and, when the old man inadvertently spilled some of her cosmetics, called him an ambassador from Mohammed.

Octavio arrives in Francisco's stead, explaining that Francisco has had to take to his bed. Mascón persists with the story of his misfortunes until Octavio gives him money not only for what he broke, but for future exigencies.

Celia promises Octavio that Silvia will be attentive to him, and asks to be taken to Francisco so that she might be of service to the ailing man.

Francisco appears, praising God for his health. Seeing himself near death, he has come to realize the worthlessness of his life. Approached by a former merchant who has lost everything, Francisco advises the man to trust in his Creator and, explaining that he has other clothes, insists that the man exchange with him. He adds that though Adam may have undressed him, he is confident that Christ will dress him anew. There is suddenly revealed to them a room full of weapons and jewels, with a Child above. The Child declares that the

jewels await him who sacrifices his clothing for Him, and that he who fights for Him will be rewarded in the new Jerusalem.

Two captains and some soldiers, marked with the red crosses of the Crusaders, describe to Francisco their intention to win the sepulcher of the Saviour from the infidels in whose hands it now is. Francisco, addressing his Master, declares that if He shed His blood in Jerusalem for him, he might well shed his there for Christ.

Feliciano and Octavio discuss Francisco's attentiveness to ladies; yet not one has ever indicated that he so much as touched her hand. Asked by Pedro Bernardo, Francisco's father, where the young man is, Feliciano and Octavio direct him to some rocks and caves among which Francisco, since his illness, has lived.

Francisco, dressed as a soldier, tells his friends of his decision to fight in the holy land. Feliciano and Octavio resolve to inform his father.

Alone, Francisco is informed by a mysterious voice that this is not the kind of battle he is expected to do. Submissively asking how he can express his love for his God, Francisco is told, "Go and repair My house."

In a relief scene, the sacristan of San Damián claims that music began in Portugal. The priest objects that men have sung since Adam. The sacristan insists that solfeggio was invented when a Portuguese man, shivering by a chimney, asked a friend on the street, "Fa sol la?" and the friend replied, "Sol fa." The sacristan ends this lesson in musical history by declaring that the Portuguese sing everything they say, anyway.

Francisco, having sold all his possessions and his inheritance, tries to give the money to the priest so that the building can be repaired. The priest, suspecting something, refuses to accept it. Francisco throws the money on the ground and hides himself, for he sees his father approaching. Declaring that the money is his, Pedro takes it, threatening all the while to make pieces out of Francisco.

Boys in the street call Francisco crazy and throw mud at him. Mud to mud, he asserts, and agrees that, having read the books he used to like, he is crazy.

Pedro overtakes his son, and soon has him bleeding. Francisco remains meek. The demented man approaches and compares Francisco to Joseph in Egypt, and his present suffering to that of Christ. The beating over, Francisco expresses gratitude for his new understanding of the anguish of Christ.

Francisco's mother pleads with him not to make his father angrier. She recalls that she was unable to give birth to him, but that a beggar told her that the child must be born in a manger. And so it was.

Pedro takes his son to the bishop and explains that Francisco wants his inheritance to be turned over to the church. Blaming him for disobedience, Pedro disinherits him and leaves him to the care of the bishop. Francisco asserts that since he owes his allegiance to God, he is not without a father. He declares his intention to go to a cave for weeping and repentance, after which he will serve at a hospital, for the child of God must realize that poor persons are his brothers.

Acto segundo

Resting one day in the year 1209, Pope Innocent III receives a vision of a falling church, being valiantly upheld by a poorly dressed man.

Fray Gil and Fray Bernardo, waiting to speak to the pontiff, tell one of the servants the story of Francisco's life, from his birth in Assisi. They are seeking approval for Francisco's order, and they declare that he is so eager to imitate his Saviour that he even has twelve disciples.

The pope emerges, describing a second vision in which he saw a palm grow from the ground into a big tree; some branches gave gold, and some gave blood. He adds that he now understands that he should have granted an audience to the poor man who sought it yesterday, and he is pleased to learn that Gil is a follower of that man. When the pope at last sees Francisco, he declares that this is he whom he saw in his dreams. Francisco behaves with complete dignity, humility, and respect as he and the pope leave to discuss the new order with the cardinals.

Clara, talking with her relatives Silvestre and Julio, refers to the acceptance by Christ of Mary Magdalene, and asserts that the preaching and example of Francisco have made her wish to be the bride of Christ. Silvestre agrees as to Francisco's saintliness; he declares that he dreamed that a dragon was attacking Assisi, and from Francisco there issued a golden cross, radiating victory and happiness. Silvestre, too, resolves to make restitution for his wrongs.

Bernardo and Gil bring tidings of the pope's approval of Francisco's order. The Benedictines have offered a place known as Nuestra Señora.

Suddenly they behold Francisco being carried in a fiery chariot. Gil declares that the chariot is love, and that Francisco is witnessing the splendor that Paul saw in the third heaven.

Fray Junípero wails confusedly that one of the twelve is a Judas. Gil finally understands that Fray Juan Capela has hanged himself. Informed as to the fiery chariot, when Junípero sees Francisco he greets him with a Sancho-like outburst, comparing the saint to an angel. He inquires whether Francisco saw many angels in heaven; Francisco replies with some ancient advice: "Mis hijos, velad y orad."¹ Junípero talks about his favorite saints: Moses, because he asked either that his people be forgiven or that he die with them, and Peter, because if he had not been told to put away his sword, he would still be cutting the ears off Jews.

Fray León observes Francisco at prayer, humbly calling himself a vile worm.

The devil and a personification of flesh discuss Francisco. The devil admits that Francisco does not merely mortify the flesh; he slays it with abstinence, whippings, and penitence. Carne, however, resolves to tempt him further. She presents the joys of wedlock, pointing out that marriage is a blessed sacrament founded by God before any monastic order. Francisco fashions a wife and children

¹Acad. IV, 290. Cf. Mark 13:33.

out of snow, and purely for ascetic reasons, lies down with the freezing image of the woman.

León, observing still, comments on the example of saintliness and chaste zeal. He wonders, however, whether Francisco's past life was as pure as it now appears. He prays for light. Suddenly a hill is seen, with a garden on top and a flower-covered Francisco in its midst. Supernatural voices confirm León's opinion that the flowers indicate the purity of the saint.

Clara, joyful at being a part of Francisco's second order, enters the church where he will give her the veil.

The local superior gives to Junípero the care of the kitchen. Junípero decides that eating twice a day is a waste of the fathers' time; he will cook a huge meal after which they will not have to bother for a couple of weeks.

Francisco, again asking to be left alone for prayer,¹ is observed this time by Gil, who is startled to see three demons descending upon the saint, threatening vengeance. Through Gil's commentary we learn that Francisco grasps a rock, though he does tell the devils that they can beat him. Gil notices that Francisco's handprints remain on the rock.

Francisco asks Gil whether he saw anything. "I know that heaven helps you, my father," replies Gil, whereupon Francisco throws himself on the ground and orders Gil to step on his chest, referring

¹This prayer (Acad. IV, 294) is similar to Lope's sonnet, "¿Qué tengo yo que mi amistad procuras?"

to the way in which Christ insisted on obedience from Peter on the matter of the feet.¹ After Francisco has left, Gil, wondering whether such humility has ever before been seen, is suddenly confronted with a chair surrounded by light and splendor; a voice declares that this throne, lost by Lucifer through pride, will be earned by Francisco through humility.

The superior is vexed with Junípero for cooking together a calf; pigs with their skin, vitals, and all; geese with their feathers; fish; and a conglomeration of vegetables. Everything is as God created it, announces Junípero proudly, and there is no ink blacker than its foam.

San Domingo, a companion, and a citizen of Rome enter. Domingo and Francisco recognize each other on sight. Domingo explains that he has seen Francisco in a dream in which Christ was about to destroy the earth, and only His mother objected, pointing out that she had two servants who were reducing the number of sinners. The two saints now praise each other and express hope that heretics will soon be defeated.

Acto tercero

Santa Clara and a little nun speak of the ardor of Fray Gil. It seems that at the mention of the word "paradise" Gil becomes so rapt in contemplation that people have learned to say the word just

¹John 13:8.

to observe its effect. The girl wants to try it, but Clara objects that it would not be well to detain a saint here.

Gil tells Clara about the travels of Francisco. He has been to Spain, France, and Italy; and in Persia, he converted a sultan and a Moorish girl who tempted him. When he threw himself on a bed of flames, the girl was so impressed that she was converted. Gil promises to bring Francisco to visit Clara.

Some agitated swineherds pursuing Fray Junípero claim that he has cut the foot off one of their pigs. Tomé, one of the herdsmen, calls Junípero a "frailejón con la santidad fingida."¹ His anger decreases, however, when he observes Francisco. The saint sends for Junípero, and while waiting tells León of his plans to withdraw for a few days of solitude. He instructs León to keep him supplied with a small amount of bread and water.

Junípero explains that Fray Simón was sick and without appetite, but he did express some interest in a pig's foot. What could Junípero do but find one? And after it was cooked, it looked as good as a bishop's. Francisco requires him to ask forgiveness from the swineherd. When Junípero describes how the pig obeyed him perfectly when he asked for its foot, the swineherd concludes that the good brother is a saint. He pardons Junípero, and promises gifts of food.

Pursued by some boys who shout "Paradise!" at him, Gil becomes enraptured. A poor man arrives; Junípero gives him his

¹Acad. IV, 299.

outer garment. The superior orders Gil to return to himself; Gil laments that we know very little, in spite of the light, and we love Him very little, in spite of His love. Though the superior reprimands Junípero for giving away his clothing, he replaces it with comments on the saintly simplicity of the brother.

Francisco and León discuss the founding of the third order,¹ which will be for laymen and married persons. Francisco wishes to pray for assurance that they are within God's will, so León leaves him. As the saint prays, an angel appears above him, offers assurance of heavenly approval, and pronounces an impressive list of names of those who, down through the centuries, will belong to this third order. Francisco promises works to testify of his gratitude and love.

To tempt Francisco further, el Demonio and la Carne arrive, the latter still complaining about the incident of the snow. Through her insistent wheedlings, Francisco continues to appeal to his Saviour and to comment on the futility of human beauty. She invites him to sit amid flowers with her, but he throws himself instead into brambles. Carne declares that from his blood on the briars, roses appear. The devil, in desperation, resolves to plot Francisco's death.

Horacio, travelling armed and with soldiers, brings out that he is feared in Viterbo and that there are those who would like to kill him. The devil, as a traveller, warns Horacio that he will meet

¹The first was the Franciscans; the second was for St. Claire and her nuns.

a man who appears to be poor, carrying an awl, a flint, and a steel, and that this man has been heard to declare that he intends to destroy Horacio by burning his castle. Horacio and his men hide to await him.

Junípero meets another beggar. This time he says that he cannot give him his clothing, but if it were to be taken, it would be all right. The beggar cooperates. After he has left, the soldiers spy Junípero, find the steel and awl, and conclude that he is the would-be murderer.

Francisco, while León waits drowsily, prays. In his prayer he declares his wish to share the crown of thorns, the nails, the sword. An angel instructs him to be patient, for the Eternal Word wishes to have to do with him. Francisco expresses his complete submission. Now a six-winged seraph¹ is revealed, on a cross. Three times the divine apparition asks Francisco for a gift; three times Francisco replies that he has nothing; three times he finds a gold coin in his bosom and offers it to the divine personage. Then the bright Being declares that the three orders Francisco has given Him are symbolized by the three coins. He next invites Francisco to join his hands with His, his feet with His, and his side with His. Francisco descends with the marks of wounds at these points, and voices sing about the difficulty in telling the two persons apart.

León wakes up as the noisy men prepare to hang Junípero. León offers to hear his confession, and thus it is that Junípero is cleared and freed, proposing that it was "Patillas" who perpetrated

¹Cf. Isa. 6:2.

the whole trick. He does not forget to try to secure help from León in escaping punishment over the missing garment.

Liseno and Olimpo, students, are discussing the perpetual virginity of Mary, "antes del parto, y en él, y después."¹ They ask Gil for help with this deep doctrine. Gil commands that they watch, and, as he pronounces "antes del parto," he strikes the ground with his staff and a white lily appears. So it is also with "en el parto" and "después del parto." Junípero notices the heavenly odor of the flowers. Gil advises the students not to try to apply human science to understanding God, but to be humble. The two youths express their penitence and submission.

Some herdsmen now bring in the promised food: a menudo of the rest of the three-legged pig, bread, bacon, and wine "que hará bailar un muerto."²

Gil sends up a prayer of praise and thanksgiving, at the end of which he asks whether the Franciscan orders will endure. Music is heard; Francisco is seen as if with a great tree growing out of his breast. The Child Jesus is above, with Santa Clara and San Luis, king of France, near him. Among the branches are other saints; some of them are mentioned by the angel, who promises such excellent fruit from the Franciscan tree as Antonio de Padua, Bernardo, Buenaventura, Rufino, Bernardino, Delfina, Elceario, Isabel de Hungría, and Santa

¹Acad. IV, 310.

²Ibid., p. 311. The promised visit of Francisco to Clara, however, is not in the play.

Rosa. Here the angel stops, declaring that they cannot be counted.
 Gil thanks the Lord and the angels, and ends the play.

Observations

Identity of the Saints

St. Francis of Assisi (1181-1226) is one of the best known and loved of saints. Though he sought pleasure in his youth, "a series of happenings led him, in 1209, to found the Order of Friars Minor, characterized by a loving, joyous worship of the Sacred Humanity of Christ, and by a profession of poverty which was both individual and collective." By 1219 members of the new order were numbered in the thousands. The rule of St. Francis was approved by Innocent III, "and his life and message received a direct sanction from Christ in 1224, when on September 14 Francis received the stigmata of the Passion on Mt. Alvernia." He was canonized in 1228.¹ St. Francis is listed as the patron of Catholic Action, Italy, and merchants.²

St. Clare of Assisi (c. 1193-1253) was irresistibly drawn to the ideal of Christian poverty preached by St. Francis. She took the veil from him, and the first convent of Poor Clares was established under her guidance at San Damiano. She governed her order for forty years, and was consulted by popes, cardinals, and bishops. Her role in the promulgation of Franciscan ideals was prominent. She was canonized two years after her death.³

¹BkSts, p. 246.

²Wedge, pp. 55, 58, 59.

³BkSts, p. 142.

St. Dominic de Guzmán (1170-1221), a native of the province of Burgos, founded the Order of Friars Preachers, approved in 1216. His order and that of St. Francis mark the culminating point of the tide of Christian asceticism which had begun with Cluny. St. Dominic died at Bologna, and was canonized in 1234.¹ He is the patron of astronomers.²

Bl. Giles of Assisi, who died in 1262, was the third follower of St. Francis. He is remembered as "one of the most delightful figures of the Fioretti." His mission to the Moslems in Tunis was a failure, but in Italy he was consulted by many persons on spiritual matters. He died at Perugia.³

Three saints and one beatus have speaking roles in Bl Serafín humano. The three saints, two men and one woman, were founders. All four were born in the latter part of the twelfth century, Dominic in Spain and the others in Italy.

Qualities of the Saints

San Francisco's outstanding quality is humility. Early in the play, sickness causes him to take a new view of himself, and he concludes that he is an unworthy person leading a worthless life. He calls himself a serpent, a vile worm, the vilest of the living. When some ruffians throw mud at him, he declares that he is mud, and that there is much dust within him. He is meek and submissive when his

¹Ibid., pp. 178-179.

²Wedge, p. 54.

³BkSts, p. 267. The date of his beatification is not given.

father beats and later disinherits him; he even expresses gratitude for the new understanding he thus gains of the sufferings of Christ. Heaven's approval of Francisco's humility is made quite clear when a divine voice affirms that Francisco has earned through humility the seat Lucifer lost through pride.

Francisco has faith, as shown by his declaration that he expects, with Job, to see God: " . . . Con Job imaginaba que yo, no otro por mí, veros tenía. . . ."¹

The saint believes that poverty is essential to the holy life; he sells his possessions and, when the priest refuses to accept the money, throws it on the floor. He declares that the child of God accepts the poor as his brothers.

Worldly books are compared by Francisco to a run-down house, attractive on the outside but full of rubbish. His countenance alone calms an angry farmer. He wishes Christ to live within him. He looks upon human beauty as vain. It is clear that he expects to reveal his love for God through his works; expressing love and gratitude to his Master, he adds:

Mas porque es justo que también se vean
los amores en obras, gloria mía,
yo haré que aun estas piedras me lo crean.²

¹Acad. IV, 277. Cf. Job 19:25-27. This idea of a future resurrection (see also I Thess. 4:16-17) does not mix well with the idea, presented in many other plays, of the immediate passage of the soul to its reward at death.

²Acad. IV, 304.

Francisco's reputation for saintliness is solidly established. A beggar has heard that the saint went after a man to give him alms, considering this a privilege of the followers of Him who took human poverty on Himself. Francisco's friends, Octavio and Feliciano, assert that no woman has ever claimed that he so much as touched her hand.¹ Octavio affirms that to him, Francisco is as pure as the day he was born. The insane man compares Francisco to Joseph in Egypt, and his sufferings to those of Christ. Pray León commends the saint for his saintliness and chaste zeal. Bernardo and Gil, discussing the reputation of Francisco, mention his humility, poverty, miracles, ardent love, tenderness, and faith.

Santa Clara is remembered by the dramatist for her devotion to Francisco and his orders, her dedication to service, and her consideration to others. This last quality is particularly manifest when she asks the young nun not to detain Gil by sending him into a rapture over the idea of paradise.

Santo Domingo, who appears briefly, is characterized by humility, divine revelations, and respect for other religious leaders. Francisco admires Domingo tremendously, calling him the light, honor, protection, succor, and life of the Spanish nation and of the world.

Bl. Giles of Assisi is obedient, reverent, full of faith. His anticipation of heaven is so keen that at the mention of paradise

¹Note the exaltation of celibacy. From what is known of seventeenth-century Spain it can be concluded that purity was preached more often than practiced.

he loses contact with reality. He is genuinely interested in Francisco's qualifications, and in the future of the orders. He meets the challenge to the perpetual virginity of Mary with miracles befitting a canonized saint. His humble expression of thanks to God is the penultimate thought in the play.

Theology, Miracles, and Demonology

El Serafín humano contains no ruling doctrine, unless it is an approbation of the humility and poverty characterizing St. Francis and his followers. Heresy is attacked, but without reference to any particular sect. The doctrines mentioned, even briefly, are common to a substantial number of the plays under consideration: the Trinity, the sacrifice of Christ, the fall of Lucifer, the mediatorial role of Mary, her perpetual virginity, the advantages of the solitary life, and--again--the humility and self-effacement of the saint.

As in La gran columna fogosa, the saint is tempted by the upholding of marriage as an institution ordained of God.¹ In El Serafín humano, the argument of la Carne on the sanctity of marriage is never answered.

The dramatist, through Gil, makes an interesting suggestion that God chose Moses to lead Israel out of Egypt because Moses, in

¹See above, pp. 193-194.

having slain the Egyptian taskmaster, has proved his "corazón y brazo."¹

Miracles in El Serafín humano are many. They begin in Act I, when a Child promises jewels to the generous, and a place in heaven for all who fight for Him. Intent on taking part in the Crusades, Francisco is told by a voice from above that military battle is not the type of warfare expected of him. In Act II, Pope Innocent III is given a vision of a falling church, held up only by a poor man. The pope's second vision, in which a palm tree grows up before him, is described but not portrayed. In a spectacular manifestation, Francisco is carried in a fiery chariot, compared by Gil to the splendor that Paul beheld in the third heaven. León receives a vision testifying of Francisco's chastity, and heavenly voices declare that the saint is numbered among the virgins. Another mysterious voice affirms, as a radiant throne is revealed, that the humble Francisco has gained the seat lost by the proud Lucifer. At the end of Act II, Santo Domingo describes a vision in which Mary's intercession for the earth saved it from destruction. Early in Act III it is related that while in Persia, Francisco threw himself into a bed of flames, escaping injury and thereby converting a Moslem girl and a sultan. Pray Gil becomes elevado or entranced when some boys shout "Paradise!" to him. When Francisco prays for divine

¹Acad. IV, 285. There are those who believe that Moses, like Abraham, Jacob, and many others, here ran ahead of the will of God, and had to learn submission and repentance for having broken a commandment in those long years as a shepherd.

guidance with regard to the founding of his third order, an angel brings permission. In a scene of great effect, heralded by an angel, Francisco receives the stigmata and approval of Christ Himself. When Gil strikes the ground with his staff, white lilies spring up to testify to the perpetual virginity of Mary. The play closes with another impressive scene containing Francisco, music, the Child Jesus, many saints, and an angel who promises greatness for the Franciscans.

The devil does not put in an appearance until Act II, when he and a personification of the flesh complain about the purity of Francisco. Three devils attack Francisco; observed by Gil, they beat the saint. In Act III, the devil and Flesh again seek to destroy Francisco, he by arranging for him to be killed by a group of highwaymen and she by direct temptation.

The Play

Covering forty-one pages in the Academy edition, El Serafín humano is the longest of the plays here under consideration. Its greatest fault is lack of structure. There is no unity of plot; unrelated scenes are strung together as if the dramatist wished to cover the whole life of the saint. No effort is made to motivate exits and entrances. Most of the major action and most of the miracles, however, do seem to have some preparation; the miracles come, for example, in answer to a prayer or to confirm or reject a decision. The visions and tableaux have dignity, generally, rather than "thrills."

Humor in El Serafín humano is not confined to one person. The escudero of Camila and her daughters provides humorous relief in Act I, with his talent at obtaining money from chance acquaintances

and with his account of the accident among Silvia's jars of cosmetic preparations. Toward the end of the first act, the sacristan's version of the development of the harmonic scale affords a humorous interlude. Throughout Acts II and III, the naïveté, mistakes, and "inocencia" of Fray Junípero bring comic relief to the play. This good brother has such ideas as the preparation of a huge meal, so that the monks might spend the following two weeks in prayer; the description of the olla that resulted from his efforts is staggering. The matter of the pig's foot is thoroughly exploited, Junípero even commenting that, cooked, it looked as good as the foot of "algún obispo o prelado." Near the end of the play, the poor brother, having been reprimanded for giving away his clothing, insists that a beggar forcibly take his garment.

Language in El Serafín humano is appropriate and dignified. There are no crudities or unhappy plays on words, even in humorous scenes. An early speech by Clara, however, is full of conceptismo:

No ha de escurecerse Clara:
Clara es luz, y ha de alumbrar,
y pues Clara se declara,
¿quién la procura enturbiar?¹

In contrast with this type of expression are the simple beauty and sincerity of Francisco's prayers.²

¹Acad. IV, 288.

²Sainz de Robles, in Lope de Vega: Retrato, p. 324, sees the personal terms of some of these prayers as a duplication of the language Lope might have addressed to his lovers.

La madre de la mejor, comedia famosa
de Lope de Vega Carpio¹

Acto primero

Set in Palestine in the second decade before Christ, the play opens as Joaquín offers a veritable psalm of praise, concluding with a humble reminder that he and Ana have been married for twenty years but have no children. He ends his prayer with a submissive "Thy will be done."

Raquela, a servant, and Bato, a farmhand, discuss the animals Joaquín and Ana will take to the festival in Jerusalem. Bato declares that he prefers the solitude of the fields and flocks.

Joaquín and Ana speak of their love for each other, their zeal, and their faith in the future. Bato, observing the couple, compares Ana's face to that of an angel. Ana and Joaquín gather their offerings and leave for Jerusalem.

In that city, near the temple, Jacob explains to his two sons Cleofás and Josef that this annual feast is a day of thanksgiving, commemorating the restoration of the temple under Judas Maccabeus. Jacob's explanation is interrupted by loud voices; it is soon seen that Isacar, the priest, is ejecting Joaquín from the temple because he is sterile. Joaquín obeys quietly.

In a monologue, Joaquín takes the blame for his and Ana's childless marriage. He approves of the priest's act of ejecting him as a deed dutifully done. He does feel shame, however, so he resolves to spend some time in the wilderness, where Ana will not have to share in his despair.

Ana now emerges from the temple, asking Jacob and her nephews why they did not detain Joaquín. She declares that she will feel lost without him, and that she shares in his dejection.

Liseno, Farés, and Eliud, shepherds, offer their opinions of persons who try to appear younger than they are. They agree that Joaquín, however, is still a young man, and mention his many saintly qualities. Bato, joining them, describes Joaquín's experience in Jerusalem. When Joaquín arrives, the shepherds try to cheer him; but he asks to be left alone. He gazes around at signs of the productivity of nature, addressing his plaint to God, but accepting with resignation his lack of progeny as a result of his sins. Suddenly a youth appears and asks Joaquín whether he would not do better living with his wife, who is, after all, of his own flesh and blood. Joaquín relates the experience of the temple, and explains that he does not wish to go home only to find his wife in tears. The youth now reveals that he is Gabriel, sent by God to inform Joaquín and Ana that He has seen their alms, prayers, patience, and shame. Reminding Joaquín of Sarah, Rachel, Rebecca, and Hannah, Gabriel promises him a child, who is to be named María. The angel explains that thus the miracle of the birth is proved, and there is no suspicion that the child is born of passion. A sign of the promise is that Joaquín will find Ana at the gate called golden, in Jerusalem. With joy and thanksgiving, the man leaves for Jerusalem; and at the gate, he and Bato approach from one side as Ana and Raquela enter from the other. During a tender embrace between Joaquín and Ana, an angel descends and places his hands on their heads while offstage voices sing,

Deste alegre día,
 desta junta bella,
 nacerá María,
 de Jacob estrella.¹

Thus is María conceived. There are expressions of happiness around, and, as they leave for Nazareth, Joaquín reminds Ana that she, if María is to be the greatest, will be "la madre de la mejor."

Acto segundo

Discussing the happiness of Joaquín and Ana, Liseno observes that Joaquín seems unaware of the flocks. The shepherds agree that children are a blessing:

Liseno: Linda paz de la casados
 son los hijos.
 Eliud: Lazos son,
 que uno y otro corazón
 tienen para siempre atados.
 Donde no hay hijos, no hay gusto,
 paz, sosiego, ni quietud.²

Bato arrives, describing the excitement and the number of persons who have come to visit Ana. Farés declares that with such parents, the child is sure to be a saint.

Joaquín and Ana express their joy and anticipation. Joaquín wonders whether this child is the one who will bruise the serpent's head;³ Ana affirms that though many thoughts have crossed her mind, she leaves the truth to heaven.

Josef, their nephew, arrives, declaring that he has taken such an affection for his unborn cousin that he wishes to ask for her

¹Acad. III, 361.

²Ibid., p. 362. Is Lope speaking here?

³Gen. 3:15.

hand. In his carpenter's skill he has made a cradle for the child. He goes on to describe the elegant gifts he wishes he might have brought. Joaquín expresses his approval of Josef's intention and his gift.

Now Ana asks Raquela to assist her and, leaning on the servant, leaves the stage. Joaquín prays; his sonnet ends with these lines:

Dichoso yo, dichoso Nazarén
si cumples la promesa de Abraham,
que si ésta es alba, vendrá el sol también.¹

Bato brings word to Joaquín that Ana is asking for him. He declares that the day and even the sun are dark in comparison to the light in her room, and a gentle song can be heard there.

Gabriel, surrounded by other angels, instructs the group not to worship him. They reply that it is difficult not to do so, since he has been commissioned to be the guardian angel of her who is to be the divine mother. Gabriel outlines her life: her birth on September 8; her presentation at the temple at two years and two months, followed by eleven years of service there; her marriage to Joseph when she is thirteen; the conception of the Holy Child when she is thirteen days older than thirteen and a half (here the other angels kneel); and, at fourteen years, three months, the divine birth.

The shepherds arrive, explaining that the rejoicing of the animals, the sudden appearance of flowers, the breaking forth of springs, the light, the voices, the songs were all such that they are certain that María has been born. They all bring gifts.

¹Acad. III, 365.

In the scenes which follow, it is suggested that all races rejoice in the birth of María. First, a Jewish king with servants and musicians offer a song and dance. Next, a Negro king with his attendants, mentioning the Congo and speaking in a mild dialect, tell of the manifestations in nature that indicate a miraculous event: "María, María, dice la pampangaya y lo tordo. . . ." A song and dance follow:

Usié, usié, usiá,
que no sabemo lo que será;
purutú, purutú, purutú,
si nadie la sabe, cáyala tú.¹

The third of these colorful scenes consists of a song and dance performed by gypsies, who again comment on the turning of nature out of its course and a brightness as of three suns.

Josef offers a tribute of praise to the child just born to Ana. He does not fail to mention the promised Redeemer.

Isabel and Zacarías bring their good wishes. Zacarías expresses faith that this event is a prognostication of divine favor for him and Isabel.

The shepherds play a game with the name "María," each taking a letter and calling on one of the others to supply a word which begins with that letter and is appropriate to the child.

When the new parents emerge, Josef is the first to be allowed to hold the child. He addresses tender lines to her:

¡Oh mi niña, oh paraíso,
oh más hermosa que el cielo!²

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 372.

Again, Joaquín closes the act with mention of the title:

Vos seréis, Ana dichosa,
 llamada en todos los siglos
 la Madre de la Mejor
 Madre de cuantas lo han sido.¹

Acto tercero

"El Dragón infernal" and two of his ministers express grave concern over the rumor coming from Limbo that she has been born who is to bruise the head of Satan. The Dragon summarizes some of the Old Testament prophecies pertaining to the Virgin and the Messiah. Then they decide to listen to the patriarchs in Limbo, whereupon a mountain opens to reveal Adam, Eve, Abel, Abraham, David, and Joseph's father Jacob. Jacob, who asserts that his death came two years after the birth of Mary, tells the story of Joaquín and Ana and of the birth of the child. The patriarchs express joy, and Eve, to whom the first messianic prophecy was given, says:

Crece, divina niña, que la frente
 pisarás de la sierpe endurecida.²

The boca closes. The dragon declares his realization that the beginning of his downfall is here.

Joaquín and Ana express their condolences to Josef on the death of his father, Joaquín's brother Jacob. Josef, of course, soon asks about María. Joaquín replies that the qualities of the child can only be explained as divine. The parents discuss their plans for Mary's presentation at the temple. Ana wishes the child had a bed of

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 374.

her own, because even at this age she must sleep with no one.

Josef promises to make a bed for her without delaying their departure, humble and unworthy though he is.

Bato and Raquela discuss the projected trip to Jerusalem. Bato intends to amuse the child all the way. His rapturous description of her includes such comparisons as roses, pearls, lilies, and the dawn. He asserts that while he sang to María in her room, he heard a choir respond. Frightened, he left the room, but on his return a moment later he found it full of flowers.

The shepherds wonder who will carry the child during the trip to Jerusalem. Ana settles the problem by declaring that she will carry her; the others agree that hers is the right. Gabriel, unseen by the group, announces that not he alone, but God Himself, will guide and protect María. The Dragon appears and challenges Gabriel to explain the meaning of all this, and to tell him whether he must expect the coming of the Prince who only can break the gates of hell. Gabriel reviews the promises given to Abraham, and then "ábrese dos puertas y vese dentro la Virgen, de niña de dos años, puesta de pies sobre una luna, y una serpiente a los pies, y alrededor una palma, un ciprés, una oliva, un rosal, un espejo, una fuente, una torre y un sol encima."¹ The Dragon understands, and declares that his head is already being trampled.

The wars have cost so much that Herod and his brother decide to rob the tombs of the kings, especially those of David and Solomon.

¹Ibid., p. 378.

At the temple, the parents, the priest, and others praise the "perfección divina" of María. The parents, Josef, and Bato each pour out their grief at leaving the child, but they also express resignation on returning to God what is His.

Herod, his brother, and their henchmen now arrive at the temple. Seeking treasure, they break open the tombs of David and Solomon. When flames leap out of the sepulchers, Herod concludes that the kings were saints and recommends flight.

Josef and Bato describe to Cleofás the presentation of María at the temple. Josef, calling attention to the fact that María and he have the same grandfather, traces her lineage from Adam. Bato prophesies:

Veros pienso
el mayor padre en el mundo
del mayor hijo en el suelo.¹

After the others have left, Josef sits down to rest. Sleepily wondering about the destiny of María, he is startled by this spectacle: "Descúbrese una cortina, y vense Joaquín y Ana sobre un trono, de cuyos dos pechos salgan dos ramas que se juntan, y en su extremo se vea una imagen de la Virgen Nuestra Señora con el niño."² To Josef's regret, he is awakened by the shepherds, who are wondering how they will bear María's absence. Bato asks them to hear a song. A stanza is added by a supernatural voice, which compares the child

¹Ibid., p. 382.

²Ibid.

to the dawn. Joaquín and Josef express resignation and faith in God's care for María.¹

Observations

Identity of the Saints

St. Joachim the patriarch lived in the first century B. C.

Joachim is now the usual name given to the father of our Lady. Other names attributed to him are: Heli, Cleopas, Eliacim, Jonachir, Sadoc. Nothing is known about him. . . . The traditions concerning him rest only on the apocryphal Gospel of James.²

St. Anne is not mentioned in the gospels. Tradition gives her name as Anne (Hannah--"grace"). Her cultus appears in the East in the sixth century and in the West in the eighth; but it did not become general until the fourteenth century was well advanced.³ St. Anne is listed as the patroness of cabinetmakers, Canada, childbirth, and housewives.⁴

St. Joseph was the spouse of St. Mary and the foster-father of Jesus. All that we know about him is to be found in the first and second chapters of Matthew and Luke. "Devotion to him as a saint, widespread in the East from early ages, has, since the 14th century, grown in the West to such an extent that Pope Pius IX formally constituted him the patron of the universal Church."⁵

¹Act III, like the other two, ends with mention of the title of the play.

²BkSts, p. 319.

³Ibid., p. 55.

⁴Wedge, pp. 55, 58.

⁵BkSts, p. 344.

St. Joseph is also the patron of Canada, carpenters, China, happy death, and working men.¹

St. Cleophas was one of the two disciples whom Jesus met on the road to Emmaus (Luke 24). 'He is sometimes identified, without and real grounds, with Clopas or Alpheus, the father of St. James the Less. . . . Hegesippus adds that he was a brother of St. Joseph."²

The name of St. Gabriel is mentioned in both Testaments and in the liturgy. He is known as the angel of the Annunciation. His feast was added to the calendar of the western church in 1921.³ He is the patron of messengers, postal employees, and television.⁴

St. Zachary (Zacharias) is known as a prophet and as the father of St. John the Baptist. Apart from the information contained in the first chapter of Luke, nothing is known of his life.⁵

St. Elizabeth was the mother of St. John the Baptist. "All that we know about her is limited to what we find in the first chapter of St. Luke's Gospel."⁶

The Old Testament saints Adam, Eve, Abel, Abraham, and David are all duly inscribed among the heroes of the church.⁷ St. David is the patron of poets.⁸

Though she does not speak, St. Mary is repeatedly described in La madre de la mejor.

¹Wedge, pp. 55, 58, 64.

²BkSts, p. 145.

³Ibid., p. 252.

⁴Wedge, pp. 59, 61, 63.

⁵BkSts, p. 615.

⁶Ibid., p. 196.

⁷Ibid., pp. 2, 3, 8, 168.

⁸Wedge, p. 61.

The Virgin Mother of God is venerated with a special cult, called hyperdoulia, by the Catholic Church, as the highest of God's creatures. The invocation of Mary pervades all Catholic devotion, public and private, and among Catholics her name is more commonly bestowed at baptism than any other.¹

Limitations of space forbid the listing of the many titles and patronages given to St. Mary.

In La madre de la mejor, there are five saints of the Old Testament, five of the New Testament (if we count Cleophas), one who is mentioned in both testaments (Gabriel), and two whose names are based on traditions. There are four women, eight men, and one archangel. Five of these saints are patrons.

Qualities of the Saints

At the very beginning of the play, it is seen that the heart of San Joaquín is full of praise for his Creator. Perhaps his most outstanding qualities, however, are his submission and humility; though barrenness was customarily blamed on women, he accepts sterility as his fault--but also the will of God; he humbly yields to the priest who ejects him from the temple; and he dutifully gives up his daughter so that she might serve at the temple. His speeches clearly show that he is devoted to his wife. His faith in God is not shaken by their twenty childless years; he admonishes Ana:

Y no vais con desconsuelo
que algún día querrá Dios,

¹Bksts, pp. 406-407.

Ana, escuchar de los dos
el santo y piadoso celo.¹

His life is characterized by prayers, alms, fasting, devotion, and charity. No wonder one of the shepherds calls him "santísimo."

Santa Ana appears with a splendid reputation. Bato, worker, declares that her face is like that of an angel. Farés, a shepherd, considers her a saint, as does St. Joseph. Her love and consideration for Joaquín are notable; she is especially compassionate toward him when he is shamed at the temple. She wonders about the mysteries surrounding the birth of her daughter, but leaves all in the hands of God. Like Joaquín, she thinks always of what is best for the child, and, again like her husband, she is willing to give the child up on the occasion of her presentation at the temple.

St. Joseph expresses faith in this divinely conceived child even before her birth. He also states his faith in the coming Redeemer. Joseph's devotion to Mary is noteworthy; he brings her gifts, he asks for her hand even before she is born, he fashions a bed for her use at the temple, and he offers such tender speeches as a commentary on the name "María," with a term of endearment for each letter. As is so generally the case with the saints in the siglo de oro drama, Joseph declares that he is humble and unworthy.

St. Zacharias demonstrates his faith when he grasps the experience of Joaquín and Ana as a prediction of blessings for him and Elizabeth.

¹Acad. III, 353. The only possible objection is that several times, as here, he and Ana compliment themselves on their "santo celo."

Though St. Mary appears only as an infant in Act II and a two-year old child in Act III, a number of remarks about her establish her saintly reputation. At the time of her birth, Joseph declares that she deserves to be called Dawn, or even Sun. The shepherds call her miraculous, the harp of David, a rainbow, a gift from God Himself. St. Eve calls her a divine child; her parents comment on her graces and discretion; Bato compares her to roses, lilies, pearls, and the dawn; the priest declares that jasmines and roses hide in her presence; and the devil laments that her birth means the beginning of his downfall.

The other saints appear so briefly that it is of no use to assemble their meager saintly qualities. All emphasis is placed on Mary.

Theology, Miracles, and Demonology

The ruling doctrine presented in La madre de la mejor is the immaculate conception of Mary. The miracle itself is portrayed in Act I when an angel descends and places his hands on the heads of Joaquín and Ana as they stand at the gate of Jerusalem. This doctrine, which is not suggested in the Scriptures, is summarized by Gabriel:

Esa llamaréis María
y será santificada
en su concepción sagrada,
dando a la tierra alegría.¹

¹Ibid., p. 360.

There are at least three references to the first messianic prophecy (Genesis 3:15). The devil refers to it on two occasions, and Eve affirms that Mary will fulfill it.

The angel Gabriel offers an interesting explanation of the experiences of the parents of Isaac, Samuel, and Mary, stating that when children are born to barren couples, it is seen that they are the fruit of God's will rather than of human passion.

The idea that Old Testament saints were detained in Limbo¹ is presented in Act III.

Miracles in La madre de la mejor begin with Gabriel's promise to Joaquín that a daughter will be born to him and Ana. The second miracle is the immaculate conception itself, when the angel places his hands on their heads and announces, "Desta junta bella nacerá María." In Act II, Bato declares that the brightness in the room where the child has been born is greater than that of the sun. Heavenly music, rejoicing animals, springs of water, and other unnatural phenomena are also described. In Act III, Bato hears a choir respond when he sings to Mary; leaving her room in fear, he returns to find it full of flowers. Gabriel appears to promise protection for the child. A spectacular vision of Mary is given, with the moon under her feet.² Flames rush from the tombs of

¹This is the dramatist's word (Acad. VII, 372). Its relation to paganism is obvious. Jacob's reference to Abraham's bosom (Ibid., p. 373) suggests the only Scriptural support for this doctrine, and it is only a parable (Luke 16:19-31). See also p. 368, note 1.

²Cf. Rev. 12:1.

David and Solomon when Herod and his brother try to rob them. Joseph is granted an impressive vision of Joachim, Anne, and Mary. An unseen singer adds stanzas to Bato's song about Mary.

The devil is represented in La madre de la mejor as a "Dragón infernal." He grumbles to a companion that he is concerned about the rumors from Limbo; and in a novel scene, Limbo opens and we hear from Adam, Eve, Abel, Abraham, and David. Later, this dragon challenges Gabriel and demands to know whether the promised Messiah is about to appear.

The Play

Sources of La madre de la mejor have been cited¹ as the Protoevangelio de Santiago el Menor, in several Arabic, Coptic, and Syriac versions, and the Evangelio de la Natividad de Santa María, sometimes attributed to St. Jerome. These works were themselves probably inaccessible to Lope, but they had taken their place in the Legenda Aurea, a Historia Nativitatis by the nun Hroswitha, and the Vita Christi of Ludolfo Cartujano.

The language of La madre de la mejor is of unusual appeal. " . . . El autor le dió toda la belleza de una égloga sacra, derramando a manos llenas tesoros de poesía descriptiva y efusiones de puros y castísimos afectos."² These treasures of poetry begin with Joaquín's psalm of praise in Act I; usually, they are harmonious and

¹Menéndez y Pelayo, Estudios, I, 187.

²Ibid., p. 186.

simple, yet appropriate for the speaker. The priest, for example, uses octavas reales, while Bato's lines are shorter and full of terms familiar to him:

Y cayendo el cristal frío
por nuestros rostros villanos,
sirve de paño de manos
el sol que enjuga el rocío.¹

The language is interesting and varied in the second-act songs for Jews, Negroes, and Gypsies. There are two word-games based on the name "María." La madre de la mejor is distinctive in that each act ends with mention of the title.

Because of the simplicity of its action, La madre de la mejor is barely classifiable as a comedia; it is more of a religious pageant. There is hardly any plot, and after the child is born, what little dramatic development there is disintegrates. Like El divino africano and Barlaán y Josafá, this play could easily end with the second act; there is no conflict with which to open Act III.

The spectacular visions and miracles, especially the flames which burst from the tombs of the patriarchs, bring the play close to the comedia de magia. The fiery rebuke suffered by Herod and his brother is difficult to explain, unless it was intended to show the audience that God cares for His Temple, and therefore Mary would be safe there.

Humor, almost lacking in the play, appears seldom and is mild when it does. Bato and the shepherds give us a little humorous relief;

¹Acad. III, 353.

on the occasion of the conception of Mary, Bato, amid general rejoicing, proclaims:

Bullendo me están los pies:
por dar un relincho estoy.¹

Later, surprised to see the shepherds arriving to greet the young child, Bato asks:

¿De qué suerte
habéis venido a Nazarén?
Eliud: Con los pies que tenemos. . . .

La madre de la mejor is a distinctive work, but one in which the qualities of the saint, especially humility and submission, shine forth as always.

¹Ibid., p. 361.

El Nacimiento de Cristo, comedia famosa
de Lope de Vega Carpio¹

torment over being at the feet of God in heaven. He describes God's creation of a king and queen whom He has placed in a paradise, accompanied by Grace and Innocence. The only restriction placed on them is that they are not to eat from a certain tree. If they can be caused to disobey, they too will be disgraced and enslaved. Envy agrees to help in this endeavor.

Adam and Eve, accompanied by Grace, Innocence, and the sound of music, enter. Adam amuses himself naming the birds, animals, and fish. The musicians sing among other lines these:

Bien haya quien hizo cadenicas, cadenas,
bien haya quien hizo cadenas de amor.
Y responden las aves que vuelan
por el aire de dos en dos, de dos en dos:
vivan los casados, para en uno son.¹

Lulled by the music, Adam falls asleep; but, as if in vision, he speaks of the Incarnation: "Why, my Lord, are you taking human form? God descends to become man, and man rises to be God."

The Serpent mentions to Innocence his having been created before Adam, and his fall from heaven because he sought to be equal with God.

Claiming to be the gardener, the Serpent declares to Eve that the fruit of the forbidden tree will bring wisdom to the eater. He offers her an apple, and the deed is quickly done:

Eva: Toma, comamos los dos
y seremos como Dios;
toma.
Adán: Comeré por ti.²

¹Acad. III, 390.

²Ibid., p. 391.

Grace leaves. Innocence is changed into Malice. Pride clothes Adam and Eve, who recognize their sin and assert that they are dressed in guilt. Their fall is summarized by a song which ends,

Enojado viene Dios:
gran castigo les espera.
Necio fué Adán, necia fué Eva,
vayan cautivos el Rey y la Reina.¹

The Heavenly Emperor now appears. The conversation--and curse--run about the same as in the Bible, Adam blaming Eve and Eve blaming the serpent.² Following the pronouncement of the curse, there is a vision of the Virgin Mary, with a crown of stars on her head and a serpent at her feet. Resigned to weeping and working, Adam and Eve leave the garden, guided by the angel with the flaming sword. A divine voice promises restitution by another serpent on a tree.³ The Divine Prince, in a speech full of paraphrases of Scripture, mentions the power of the evil which drew away a third of the angels of heaven. Then he offers Himself as Redeemer, observing that only the Son of the Sovereign can meet the demands of justice. The Emperor agrees that in love the sacrifice may be made:

Mi hijo les doy: no tengo
joya más rica que darles.⁴

¹Ibid.

²Gen. 3:12-19. Adam, according to Genesis, was more specific--and reprehensible--in his accusation: "The woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat." (*Italics inserted.*) He blames God. Lope has him say simply, "Esta mujer me engañó."

³The brazen serpent on the pole (Num. 21:7-9) has often been understood as symbolic of the sacrifice of Jesus.

⁴Acad. III, 393. Some sects teach that the Son and the Father planned for man's redemption even before he fell; see Rev. 13:8.

Without any suggestion of the passage of time, Gabriel is sent to Nazareth to announce to Mary that she will give birth to the Messiah.

Acto segundo

The Serpent boasts about his dominion over the earth and, since the kingdom is divided, his resemblance to God. Sin gloats that the whole race through Adam's fall has come under his power, subject to death, the flood, and other misfortunes. Death proudly describes her victories, and her ability to return to nothing what God has created. Suddenly Grace puts them all to flight with her announcement of the forthcoming birth of the Messiah. The World, assured of his relief, promises that there will be rejoicing among the animals, the streams, the flowers, and especially among the inhabitants of Limbo, where Abraham, Jacob, Isaac, David, Elijah, and Elisha are waiting.¹

Joseph, addressing Mary as "hermosa Reina del cielo," is concerned over their having found no lodging. She calmly assures him that they will find a place in time. When they are turned away from the inn, Joseph asks what they should do; he is willing to bear the cold and discomfort, but he does not wish Mary to have to do so. She, however, seems perfectly satisfied with the place to which the innkeeper has directed them:

¹See p. 422, note 1. Elijah's having been taken up in a fiery chariot and his appearance on the Mount of Transfiguration would seem to preclude his confinement to Limbo.

Entrad, que aqueste portal,
 Josef, nos dará consuelo,
 al cielo envidia, a los hombres
 vida.

Josef: Vos sois su remedio
 En Belén, casa de pan,
 nacerá el pan verdadero,
 que es de los ángeles gloria
 y de los hombres sustento.¹

Offstage voices remind Joseph of the honor of appearing the father of a child whose real father is God.

Some shepherds complain of the bitter cold. Bato agrees with Laurencio and Delia that it is cold, but he is also concerned about his hunger. Silvana, Pascual, and another shepherd join them, and try to prepare some food. Suddenly Bato puts up a cry of "Wolf!" and while the others run to the defense of their animals, he consumes the food. A short while later, Pascual asks Bato to play his flute. When he begins to blow, his whole face is blackened by soot.²

A supernatural voice announces the birth of the God-man, and an angel directs the shepherds to Bethlehem. The shepherds compare the angel to the sun; Bato declares that he must have been one of those who sing "Holy, holy" about the throne of God.³ Bato recalls the promises given to Abraham, Jacob, and David, mentions the prophecy about Bethlehem,⁴ and concludes that they should go at once to see the Child. Laurencio suggests laurel, holly, and gifts. Pascual

¹Acad. III, 398.

²It will be recalled that this bit of slapstick occurs also in two of the three plays about San Isidro.

³Rev. 4:8.

⁴Mic. 5:2.

decides on milk and honey; Bato will take a lamb. Laurencio, asked what he will take, replies,

El corazón,
 porque es el mejor que tengo,
 y es en las aras de Dios
 el más oloroso incienso.¹

Acto tercero

Lisena, a shepherdess, is amazed at the things Delia and Silvana have told her, especially about the faith and humility of Mary. Bato and the other shepherds join them, and describe their visit to the stable. Ginés proposes a game involving colors and their significances as applied to the Child: green means hope; gold, power; white, bread; red, humanity. Bato, who forgets to answer on cue, receives two penalties: his nose and hair are pulled.

Riselo joins the group of shepherds, and delivers a long exhortation: they should go at once to Bethlehem to see the arrival of the three kings, who are bringing riches and a company of thousands. He concludes with a reference to the heavenly Father of the Child, and the mother, who, though she is hardly fourteen,² was known by name in heaven when the world was created.

Mary and Joseph, referring to a table and the Child's first shedding of blood, let it be known that He has just been circumcised. The two saints express tenderness, and appear to share His pain.

¹Acad. III, 402.

²Mary's age here agrees with what is stated in La madre de la mejor.

Baltasar speaks only briefly, calling the Child "nuestro Rey."

Gaspar's first utterance is,

Deseo llevo de ver
esta soberana Infanta.¹

As he and Melchor enter the cave, the Negroes who have accompanied the latter king (who, according to tradition, was an African) sing in dialect. Following the song, the interior of the cave is revealed:

Descúbrase el portal, Josef y la Virgen con el Niño en las
manos, el rey Baltasar de rodillas, besándole el pie, los
otros dos a los lados como pinta la tabla de los Reyes.²

The mother, with dignity of expression, wishes God's peace for the royal visitors. The play ends as the shepherds remark on the beauty of the Child.

Observations

Identity of the Saints

Sts. Adam and Eve are revered as the first parents of the human race.³ St. Gabriel is mentioned in both Testaments and in the liturgy.⁴ St. Joseph, foster-father of Jesus, patron of the universal church, is also revered as the patron of Canada, China, carpenters, happy death, and working men.⁵ St. Mary is venerated as the highest of the creatures of God.⁶ The Magi, Balthasar,

¹Acad. III, 409.

²Ibid.

³BkSts., p. 8.

⁴Ibid., p. 252.

⁵Ibid., p. 344; Wedge, passim.

⁶BkSts., pp. 406-407; Wedge, passim. For more details on all of these saints, see under La madre de la mejor.

Caspar (or Gaspar), and Melchior, are also duly inscribed saints, though their names are traditional.¹

The saints in El nacimiento de Cristo are two women, five men, and one angel. Two, Adam and Eve, are Old Testament figures; five, Mary and Joseph and the three Kings, are of the New Testament; and one, Gabriel, is mentioned in both portions of the Bible. There are no founders or martyrs; only Sts. Mary, Joseph, and Gabriel are known as patrons.

Qualities of the Saints

The nature of El nacimiento de Cristo is such that character is neither developed nor to any great extent revealed. Adam and Eve follow the story according to Genesis almost mechanically; the only saintly quality glimpsed is their resignation as they leave the garden. Gabriel appears only long enough to receive instructions for the annunciation. The three kings appear only momentarily; Baltasar refers reverently to the Child, Gaspar wishes to see Mary but makes no reference to the Babe, and Melchor says nothing.

Mary and Joseph, however, are more fully revealed. The purity, beauty, grace, and sweetness of St. Mary are mentioned by the Divine Prince at the end of Act I. Noteworthy are her calm faith when no room is available, her humble satisfaction with the stable, her consideration of Joseph, and the propriety and dignity with which she invokes the blessing of God upon the three kings. The shepherds are

¹BkSta, pp. 385-386.

impressed by her faith and humility; Delia declares that only God surpasses her.

St. Joseph addresses his wife with great respect. His concern over the lack of a room is genuinely for her sake rather than his own. Both parents share in the discomfort of the Child at the time of His circumcision. Both Mary and Joseph appear to be acquainted with work; he refers to his labor as a carpenter, and she seems perfectly poised when faced with the prospect of spending the night with the animals in a stable.

Theology, Miracles, and Demonology

The fall from heaven of the prince of devils is described by the Serpent in El nacimiento de Cristo. He ascribes his fall to pride and beauty,¹ which qualities are both allegorically personified in the play.

The fall of man is given by the dramatist almost exactly according to the account in Genesis, except for mention of the forbidden fruit as an apple and Adam's milder accusation of Eve.²

References to the plan of salvation are found throughout the play, beginning with Adam's dream of the incarnation, and continuing with the agreement between the Father and the Son that the latter would pay man's penalty for disobedience. Not overlooked are references to the promises given to Abraham and other patriarchs, the

¹Isa. 14:12-14; Ezek. 28:12-17.

²See p. 428, note 2.

symbolic brazen serpent of Moses, and such prophecies as that naming Bethlehem as the birthplace of the Child.

Agreeing with the Bible account are statements that Eve was made from Adam's rib and that Christ is the image of the Father. Based more on tradition than Scripture is the claim that Old Testament saints waited in Limbo for the appearance of the Messiah.

There is more Mariology than any other single doctrine. The Divine Emperor has given only part of the first messianic prophecy¹ when a cloud opens to reveal the Virgin, crowned with stars and with a dragon at her feet. The Serpent praises her, declaring that she was a saint before sin existed.² The Father affirms that Mary is more beautiful and pure than an angel.³ St. Joseph calls his wife the doorway to heaven; Delia, relating her to the woman of Revelation 12, claims that only God surpasses her; St. Gaspar seems more eager to behold Mary than the Child.

Miracles in El nacimiento de Cristo include Adam's dream of God taking human form, the revelation of the Virgin on a cloud with the Serpent at her feet, and the Biblical miracles of the angelic announcements and songs regarding the Holy Birth.

¹Gen. 3:15.

²Did the dramatist believe that Mary pre-existed, or is he merely placing her in the foreknowledge of the Father?

³The critic might ask how one can be purer than complete purity.

Demonological manifestations follow the Bible record fairly closely, except for the additional personifications of Pride, Beauty, Envy, Sin, and Death. The Serpent describes his fall, plots the deception of man, successfully tempts Eve and then Adam, and later boasts of his dominion over the earth.¹

The Play

El nacimiento de Cristo is not at all a typical comedia de santos. Allegorical and pastoral elements are mixed, much as in the older autos del Nacimiento, the allegorical nature of the piece predominating in the first act and the pastoral in the second and third. The Bible is the greatest single source of the work. It is a composite thing, with many threads of action but little real plot. The only moment of suspense arises when Bato cries "Wolf!" and eats the shepherds' food, leaving the audience to wonder what vengeance will be taken upon him. The passage of four thousand years seems to have offered no problem to the dramatist; Eden and Bethlehem merge almost without commentary. El nacimiento de Cristo, though it consists of three acts, is considerably shorter than a regular comedia.

Humor in this work is burlesque at times, perhaps inconsistent with the dignity of the subject and of most of the play itself. Bato is clearly the gracioso of Acts II and III. He tricks the other shepherds into searching for a wolf so that he can eat their food, and has his face blacked by a soot-filled flute in restitution. His nose and

¹Supporting texts would include Rev. 12:9, Gen. 3:1-6, and Matt. 4:8-9.

hair are soundly pulled as penalties in a word game. He amuses the other shepherds with his account of seeking so hastily to kiss the feet of the Holy Child that he stumbled and broke his nose against an ox.

Ginés: ¿Quién pudiera sino tú
hacer eso junto al Rey?
Bato: Perdone, le dije al buey.
Ginés: Y el buey, ¿qué te dijo?
Bato: Mu.¹

In the first act there is a play on words which seems rather inappropriate for the subject. When the Serpent mentions Eve's having been made from Adam's rib, Innocence interrupts,

Y no fué a costa de Dios.
Gracia: ¿Pues de quién?
Inocencia: De su costilla.²

The humor grows a bit shady when Death--especially if as flat-chested as she is usually depicted--refers to her "fuerte pecho."³

In spite, however, of lack of unity, lack of plot, and its close similarity, especially in Act I, to the autos del Nacimiento, El nacimiento de Cristo does offer color and frequent triumphs of poetic inspiration. It also affords a glimpse of the saintly characteristics of Mary and Joseph, confirming the usual pattern of self-effacement and humility.⁴

¹Acad. III, 404. Cf. the proverbial "Habló el buey y dijo << Mu >>."

²Ibid., p. 391.

³Ibid., p. 396.

⁴Astrana Marín (p. 283) devotes two sentences to this play.

La limpieza no manchada de Lope de Vega Carpio¹

First lines.	Quietud:	Salid de casa, acabemos y dejaos de replicar.
Last lines.	España:	Con tal regocijo y fiesta, dándole infinitas gracias a la Virgen, hace fin <u>La Limpieza no manchada.</u>

CHARACTERS²

La Quietud	El Rigor	Alemania
La Duda	*Jeremías	Francia
La Contemplación	Un Pastor	España
*Santa Brígida	Belardo, otro pastor	La Universidad de Salamanca
El Cuidado	*Zacarías, viejo	Cuatro estudiantes gorrones
*Job	*San Juan Bautista	
*El Rey David	La India	Músicos
El Pecado Original	Etiopía	Bailarines
La Soberbia	La Piedad	Un ángel
El Género Humano	La Fama	La Alegoría

Acto primero

Quietud, declaring that there is no more room for Duda,
evicts her. Duda resolves to transform herself into a man and go
about the world. Asked by Duda about the water in the world,

¹Acad. V, 399-424. Written in 1618.

²The saints are marked by asterisks. The last two characters are not listed in Acad. V, but do appear in the play. In the play within the play, the characters are Esther, Agüero, Amán, Arsindo, Celso, and Un criado.

Contemplación explains that God in His wisdom divided the waters from the land for the good of man.

Contemplación takes Duda on as a servant, explaining that she lives in a convent because here dwells a bride of Christ whom Contemplación often raises to heights where God can reveal mysteries which are often doubted.

Santa Brígida declares that she is tired of Cuidado's trying to understand how Adam's sin involved all his descendants, even innocent infants. Cuidado asserts that he is going to try to find out from Silencio how one can ask God such perturbing questions as this. Contemplación suggests that this looks like a good home for Duda. Duda in turn reassures Brígida by declaring that he will lose his name in the sea of her virtue. Brígida ventures that believing is easier than understanding. Duda points out case after case where human beings have had doubt; in fact, he affirms, not doubting is stupid. Brígida admits that she wishes to know why all are under the curse of original sin, but that she is inclined to accept whatever the church teaches. Contemplación commends Brígida for her attitude, her piety, and her prayers. Offstage voices sing,

No se hallará, esposa mía
quien sin pecado se vea,
aunque un tierno infante sea
cuya vida es sólo un día.¹

Job, the patriarch, laments the miserable days of his conception and birth, in language similar to the book bearing his name.

¹Acad. V, 402.

Duda launches into a commentary in which he commends Job for his resignation, observing that Jacob, on the other hand, would not be consoled over one child with eleven remaining. Job departs before Duda has finished; Contemplación proposes that Duda has tried Job's patience more than his own wife did. Brígida understands that Job cursed his birth because of original sin. Duda, however, reminds her that still to be explained is how a child inherits it. Contemplación suggests that it resides in the flesh inherited from Adam and Eve. It is finally agreed that the second Adam (Christ) paid the penalty, that baptism (the new birth explained to Nicodemus) is the sign of regeneration, and that God died for all, including infants.

When Duda mentions the fruit that tempted Eve, Contemplación scoffs. King David appears and in language much like the fifty-first Psalm laments his transgression, but blames it on original sin.

After David has left, Pecado wonders how long the bruising of the head¹ will continue. He instructs that Género Humano be branded with "Pecado Original" in letters that flame beyond the power of the waters of baptism. Género Humano, though threatened with slavery by Rigor, expresses faith in the pure and living water, offering Jeremiah as an example of one who escaped condemnation. Jeremiah, on a "tramoya a modo de peña," appears, declares that he was blessed in his mother's womb, makes a quick reference to his work of lamenting and warning, and disappears. Pecado moans that

¹Gen. 3:15.

John the Baptist was also born with sanctity. The act closes with a fiesta honoring St. John; St. Zachariah praises the devotion of his son, and shepherds dance and sing.

Acto segundo

Now beset by wonderings about the Virgin Mary, Brígida asks whether she, like Jeremiah and John, was blessed before birth. An angel appears and assures Brígida that her divine Husband is aware of her bewilderment, and that the queen of heaven had the same graces and privileges as any other saint. Brígida then inquires as to whether Mary, like Jeremiah and John, was sanctified before birth. The angel suggests that while the two prophets were blessed without their knowledge, the queen of heaven was prepared through reason, hope, and love for God for the grace she was to receive. The angel answers Brígida's next question by admitting that the two prophets were conceived in sin. Brígida's next fear is that Mary later fell; but Contemplación assures her that God has more than one type of blessing for humanity. In a sonnet, Brígida expresses faith, declaring that she knows all are under the death penalty, but there is Elijah as proof of the possibility of escape.

Alegoría promises consolation; she proposes that after the fiesta she has prepared, Brígida will be permitted, by her own understanding, to remove the veil from Alegoría's face.

The fiesta begins; it is a dramatic representation. Musicians sing and Tiempo gives the loa. The story of Esther is now enacted, beginning with Haman's deception of the king and Esther's reaction on

learning of the edict which would destroy her people. She makes a dramatic and courageous entry into the throne room, endeavoring to make three bows but fainting on the third. The king leaps to her assistance and supports her in his arms.

Here Brígida removes the veil from Alegoría, asserting that she now understands: oh, Virgin, you would have fallen but the King of heaven

bajó a teneros, de un salto
que salvó la tierra toda.
Llena de gracia os dejó,
siempre limpia, siempre
el que os quiso para madre,
os preservó; denle gloria
los cielos. . . .¹

The play within the play continues as Esther explains her mission; the king praises her eloquently and grants her exemption from the law which, however, still applies to every one else.

Duda declares that from now on he wishes to be known as Desengaño. Pecado challenges him:

¿No se sabe que pecaron,
luego al principio del mundo,
Duda, sus dos protoplastos?
Duda: Protoplasto o protonecio,
idos a hablar al establo,
y no os metáis con la Virgen.²

Mary's conception without original sin is later plainly stated by Duda, who goes on to explain that Pecado was restrained at the time of Mary's birth, so that he could not harm her. Moreover, Adam's sin was a sin of the head, and his descendants, born head

¹Acad. V, 413-414.

²Ibid., p. 415.

first, inherited it; but Mary was born feet first and has broken the head of sin.¹

Acto tercero

Piedad and Fama discuss the attributes of the latter, recalling that St. Bernard asserted that fame made virtue more illustrious. Piedad asks Fama to publish throughout the world that Pecado, through Mary's being untainted, has had his downfall. Fama makes a great proclamation, addressing in turn various parts of the world. Alemania declares that the harshest breast is inclined to devotion by the immaculate conception; and Francia and España join him in expressions of joy. España calls for time to pass, until the day of Philip III. On mention of the University of Salamanca, "Sale la Universidad de Salamanca muy bizarra; en el tocado cinco plumas, cada uno de su color, que son sus armas."² España praises the university for upholding the doctrine of the immaculate conception, adding that with a heavenly advocate such as Mary, reward is sure to come.

Four students bicker, with pinpricks and expectorations. One of them has a glosa on the immaculate conception; the others now jeer, now approve.

Cuidado and Duda agree that Spain deserves the honor that this accomplishment in faith will bring her. Spain is now seen, seated on a throne; the rest of the play is almost pure spectacle,

¹Another reference to Gen. 3:15.

²Acad. V, 420.

during which Duda and Cuidado interpolate commentaries, naming many members of the university staff. There is a Portuguese dance, an Indian dance, and a Negro dance, with songs in dialect. España admits that she recognizes India as Castile in disguise, and Ethiopia as Andalusia. She thanks them, and descends from the throne. All kneel together as a tableau of the immaculate conception is revealed, "en un altar muy adornado."¹ España ends the play after another song by the Negroes.

Observations

Identity of the Saints

St. Brigid of Sweden (1304-1373) was the wife of a Swedish prince, to whom she bore eight children. For twenty-eight years she was "the ideal busy, home-loving wife."² After the death of her husband, she founded the monastery of Wadstena, thus establishing the Order of the Most Holy Saviour, also known as the Bridgettines. "She is also famous for the visions and revelations with which she was favored by God, and which she recorded in writing."³ She died in Rome as she returned from Jerusalem, and was canonized in 1391. She is the patron saint of Sweden.⁴

¹Ibid., p. 424.

²BKSts., p. 116.

³Ibid. Does this sentence allow us to assume that this is the Brigid the dramatist alluded to?

⁴Ivedge, p. 63.

David, Jeremiah, and Job are duly listed as Old Testament saints.¹ St. David is the patron of poets.²

St. John the Baptist was praised by Jesus as a great prophet. His career is described in the four Gospels. With reference to La limpieza no manchada, it is noted that "patristic tradition maintains that St. John was freed from original sin and sanctified in his mother's womb: hence from the earliest time the Church has liturgically celebrated the nativity of St. John."³ A popular saint, St. John the Baptist is the patron of tailors.⁴

St. Zachary the prophet, father of John the Baptist, is known only from the account of Luke 1.⁵

Appearing in La limpieza no manchada are six saints, only one of whom is a woman. Of the five men, three are from the Old Testament and two from the New. Three of the six saints in this play are patrons.

Qualities of the Saints

Santa Brígida is the only saint who appears on the stage long enough to reveal many traits of character. Even so, we have to accept observations on her reputation from allegorical characters. Contemplación, for example, considers Brígida a divine bride of Christ, wise, beautiful, and noted for prayer and piety. Duda speaks of the sea of her virtue. Santa Brígida appears to be earnest and genuine in

¹BkSts., pp. 168, 318, 320.

²Wedge, p. 61.

³BkSts., p. 331.

⁴Wedge, p. 63.

⁵BkSts., p. 615.

her search for truth, and she grasps quickly the lessons presented to her. Faith is her outstanding quality; she declares her faith in eternal life, pointing to Elijah as proof, and she expresses her complete willingness to accept what is taught by the church and its doctors.

Theology, Miracles, and Demonology

The great burden of La limpieza no manchada is the doctrine of the immaculate conception of Mary. Santa Brígida raises the question as to whether Mary was tainted by original sin. She specifically wishes to know why innocent babies are under the curse of Adam's sin. With Job to confirm the sinfulness of human origin, it is explained to Brígida that children inherit sinful natures from their parents, but that they have the opportunity of regeneration through baptism. The enactment of the story of Esther was designed to teach Brígida that Mary might have fallen, but God preserved her from those temptations greater than she could bear. On several occasions the doctrine is pointedly stated; Duda, for example, speaks of "la Virgen, concebida sin resabio del pecado original,"¹ and España praises the University of Salamanca in these terms:

¡Oh gloria de España! has hecho
de defender la opinión
piadosa con santo celo
de que la Virgen divina,
por especial privilegio
sin pecado original
fué concebida.²

¹Acad. V, 416.

²Ibid., p. 420.

Underlying the objection to Mary's having been normally conceived is the doctrine that the original sin was a physical relationship. King David asserts that his mother conceived him in the sin of the father of the race, and Duda states quite plainly,

La sierpe del Paraíso
fué al principio una mujer.¹

Mention is briefly made of the mediatorial role attributed to Mary, and of the sanctification of John the Baptist and Jeremiah before they were born.

Apart from the presence of the allegorical personages, miracles in La limpieza no manchada include Job's, David's, and Jeremiah's appearances for the purpose of instructing Santa Brígida, the celebration held around John the Baptist, the angel's replies to Brígida's questions about Mary, and the tableau of the immaculate conception with which the play ends.

Demonology does not take the course often found in the comedia de santos. However, Pecado Original, one of the allegorical characters, speaks of himself as the one who fell from heaven, spoke through the serpent, and dwells in hell, thereby becoming indistinguishable from Satan.

The Play

La limpieza no manchada was commissioned by the University of Salamanca in celebration of the faculty's declaration in favor of the

¹Ibid., p. 405. Many, of course, find it hard to reconcile this idea with God's wishes for man to populate the earth and have dominion over it. See Gen. 1:28, Gen. 9:1 and 7, and Isa. 45:18.

dogma of the immaculate conception, which had given rise to a hot theological argument. Spain's feelings on the subject are represented in the play, and not merely indirectly, but in the lines of a character named España who declares she is Mary's slave. The fervor of the Spaniards was apparently sincere in this debate, and La limpieza no manchada has been called "le cri de victoire d'une foi triomphante."¹

We must agree with Menéndez y Pelayo² that this play is hardly a comedia, but is more of an extensive loa a lo divino or auto sacramental. The number and kind of allegorical characters, and the allegory itself, follow the dramatic pattern of the auto sacramental, but without the usual reference to the Eucharist. Plot is virtually absent; what continuity there is exists through the personality of Santa Brígida. Her inner conflict is given dramatic form by the personifications of doubt, concern, contemplation, pride, original sin, and others. They are made to follow the saint's processes of thought, until Doubt gives up at the same time that Brígida becomes convinced that the Virgin Mary was conceived without sin. The real person, Brígida, contributes to the realism of the work; the abstract one, Doubt, adds to its universality. Diego Marín names it "acción bifocal, reforzando la unidad temática con la unidad orgánica."

The distinctive nature of La limpieza no manchada notwithstanding, the humble faith of the saint is still clearly to be seen.

¹Reynier, p. 839.

²Acad. V, xliii.

³p. 111. This play is also discussed, though very briefly, by Hase (pp. 94-95) and Reynier (p. 839).

The sermon of the play, however, is a warning against doubt and theological questionings. Though doubt has legions of defenders--even proponents--in our own century, Brígida exemplified for the seventeenth-century Spanish audience the proper conduct in this respect: resigned submission to the interpretation of the Church of the problem of sin.

La niñez de San Isidro, comedia famosa
en su canonización¹

First lines. Inés: Sin vuestra gracia y favor
no puede haber bien humano

Last lines. Pedro: Y daremos fin con esto
a Las niñeces de Isidro.

CHARACTERS²

Inés, madre de San Isidro	Pedro, padre de San Isidro
Don Alvaro de Vargas	Un sacristán
Don Juan Ramírez	Un pobre ³
Doña Elvira	Iván de Vargas, hijo de don Alvaro
Mendoza, criado	Luis de Ramírez, hijo de don Juan
Bato	Hacén, moro
Helipe	Zulema, moro
Antón	
Dominga	*Isidro

Acto primero

Inés prays to God and the Virgin of Almudena for a son, expressing the hope that he will be a saint. The aged Alvaro and his daughter Elvira, whom Inés serves, enter, speaking of Elvira's

¹Aguilar III, 308-328.

²The saint is marked by an asterisk.

³This and the following personages are not listed on p. 308 of Aguilar III; but they do appear and speak in the play.

⁴The first act is preceded by a loa, one of the chief concerns of which is to render homage to "Felipe divino," "un sabio rey."

forthcoming marriage to Juan Ramírez. In a third brief scene we meet Juan and his servant, Mendoza.

Bato complains to two other farm workers, Helipe and Antón, about his hunger. From their conversation we learn that Inés is expecting a baby; and Pedro, the father-to-be, joining the group, offers drink to the others. Alone, Pedro prays for his master, for the welfare of Inés and the baby, and for blessings for the child--not necessarily material blessings, but that it might belong to God, for that, Pedro says, is eternal wealth. To his surprise, a voice is heard singing about the happiness of the laborer who wishes a gift with which to enrich the church, and the fortune of Madrid in having him for a son. A cloud opens; two angels pass, plowing with two oxen; and San Isidro is seen with his star-strewn clothing, a shining crown, and a silver goad. Bato, Antón, and Helipe return. Finding Pedro as though entranced, Bato launches into a tirade against mythology, prognostication, and superstitions, concluding, "No alcanza la astrología más que a engañar ignorantes." Pedro tells the other three workers of the scene he has just witnessed, and of the three letters (I, D, and M) worn by the personage he saw. Each of the three guesses at the significance of the letters. Pedro, not satisfied with the theories of Bato, Antón, and Helipe, offers his own explanation: some one will be born in Madrid who will be favored of heaven, and the IDM means "Jesús de mi alma, en fe de su amoroso deseo."

Inés joins the group to tell of just having seen the body of St. Isidore of Seville in procession. She was so impressed with the procession and with the holy remains of the saint, that she promised on her knees that if she has a boy she will name him Isidro. Pedro declares that he wishes to see the saint right now, and adds,

Santo Isidro, yo os acepto
por mi abogado desde hoy.

Inés continues:

Y yo por padre y por dueño
del hijo que, en vuestro nombre,
labrador del cielo espero.¹

Don Alvaro assures Juan that his approaching marriage should be sufficient reason for excusing him from the wars, but Juan is not sure that he should neglect his duty in the struggle against the Moors. Mendoza interrupts with news that Inés has given birth to a boy. Soon Bato emerges with the child, declaring that he is smiling already. Juan and Elvira offer to serve as godparents, and Juan gives a hundred reales to the father.

Antón and Helipe are having words about whom Dominga, the cook, prefers. But it is Bato who emerges from the kitchen with a plate of torrijas. After a moment of thought, Antón announces that he has a flute known in Aragon as a dulzaina, and he knows that Bato would like to play it. When Bato begins to play, out comes soot. Antón now shows him the right way to play; this time it is flour that covers Bato. The would-be musician concludes:

¹Aguilar III, 315.

Ya no hay que fiar en flautas:
tal son los soplos del mundo,
que cuando esperan que haga
dulce consonancia al gusto,
sale polvo, viento y nada.¹

Pedro goes to the church to offer thanks for the child and to dedicate him to the service of God. He asks St. Andrew to watch over the child. A supernatural voice promises that the boy will bring fame to the city.

The last scene of Act I portrays the baptism; unlike other plays, this one calls for the baptism to occur on stage: "Chirimías, y el bautismo con grande acompañamiento; los zagales, una danza de espadas; fuentes, niño, padrinos y don Alvaro."²

Acto segundo

Some years have passed when the second act begins, for Inés and Pedro are discussing Isidro's growth in virtue and in manners, showing even in these early years that he will be outstanding. Bato joins them, and then Isidro arrives, with his primer. His greeting to the others is, "Loado sea Cristo, y su Madre bendita." Bato, in a humorous passage, tells the lad about the day of his birth, including the episode of the flute. When it is mentioned that Isidro might wish to study for the priesthood, he replies that he will have to go to the fields even as an adult. He recites for the group a "Christus A, B, C" which contains a brief statement of doctrine for each letter. Bato declares that the family reminds him of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph. When Inés takes Pedro into another room

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 319.

for supper, Isidro makes it clear to Bato that he would like to be alone. Bato lingers unseen, however, to observe the boy at prayer. Isidro prays, "Señor, enseñad mi fe, sed vos el maestro mío. . . . Vos solo sois perfección." He adds that he is a blank page, but wishes God to print him in such a way that all can see God in the book.

A poor beggar comes along. Isidro has only his overcoat to offer. Bato emerges to ask the man whether he thinks he is doing well to take advantage of a child. The beggar challenges Bato's background, but Bato assures him that he is a cristiano viejo. Bato's reasoning is that since it was not the boy's money that bought the garment, he should not give it away. Don Juan Ramírez joins them and agrees; he gives some money to the beggar and sends him on his way. Isidro then inquires how he can show charity as an adult if he has not been permitted to learn it as a child. Faith he has, he continues; he was just trying to learn piety and charity. Bato and Juan commend him, saying that he might be young in years but he is old in wisdom. Alone again, Isidro prays for wisdom and guidance.

Iván de Vargas, don Alvaro's son, and Luis Ramírez, the son of don Juan, wish to play with Isidro. He observes that he is merely an "humilde villano," while they are of illustrious parentage: "¿Cómo se puede juntar tal sayal con tal brocado?" The other two boys reply that their parents have sent them to be with him. Iván adds that he admires Isidro's virtue, love, behavior, and company to

such an extent that he is sad without him. They decide to play a while, but the various games suggested bring from Isidro comments only on their dullness or danger. At last they choose a hiding game. Searching later for Isidro, the two boys find him only after following voices which are singing "Venite." Isidro is revealed praying before a small altar in an upper room.¹

Hacén and Zulema, Moors, bring tribute money to don Juan Ramírez, who is alcaide of Madrid. After the two Moors have left, Juan explains to Alvaro that when his grandfather was alcaide, he saw that the next battle would probably mean his death. Not wishing his wife and daughters to be at the mercy of the Moors, he slew them before leaving for the conflict. Then he assembled the few soldiers he had and they went into battle, the name of the Virgin of Atocha on every tongue. With great glory, she appeared during the battle, and the Christians were victorious. The soldiers then guessed the reason for their leader's great sadness; but when they accompanied him to the chapel to give his wife and daughters a decent burial, lo! they were alive.

Isidro, alone, utters a charming prayer about how he sees God in all things about him: river, flowers, trees, birds, wheat-fields. Suddenly Christ, as a shepherd with whom the lad is unacquainted, appears. When the stranger asks for food, Isidro directs him to Iván; when, however, the shepherd asks for a more immediate

¹The directions (Aguilar III, 324) are: "Descúbrese en lo alto un aposentico con un altarico, su imagen y sus velas, e Isidro rezando."

gift, Isidro offers his heart. Pleased with this answer, the stranger calls down a table and two chairs. The table is furnished with a cloth and flowers, and there is an angel on each side. Isidro, suspecting the identity of the guest, kneels. Christ blesses him as the holy visitors rise out of sight. Isidro contemplates all this until he notices that he can help his father; then he goes immediately to that duty.

Alvaro, Juan, and Mendoza are eager to praise the Virgin of Atocha, and to teach the young ones to do so. Antón, Helipe, Bato, Pedro, and Isidro come from their reaping to join them. Two doors open to reveal the Virgin. The play ends as Isidro, under his father's instructions, offers a cross to the other Child.

Observations

Identity of the Saint

St. Isidore the Farmer, who worked in the fields outside Madrid until his death in 1170,¹ is the only saint in the play. The patron of Madrid, he was beatified in 1620; Lope de Vega was asked to direct a literary contest on that occasion. In 1622, St. Isidore was canonized, by direction of Gregory XV. The Ayuntamiento charged Lope with the writing of two comedias about the saint. La niñez de San Isidro and La juventud de San Isidro, each with its loa, resulted. The two plays were performed before the king and queen in the Plaza del Palacio.²

¹BkSts, p. 309.

²Astrana Marín, p. 280.

Qualities of the Saint

Somewhat as in San Isidro, labrador de Madrid, much of what we learn about the saint is gleaned from the lines of other characters. His parents comment on his growing in virtue and manners; Juan Ramírez and Bato commend him for being old in wisdom though chronologically young; Iván de Vargas admires his virtue, his love, and his general behavior, and later exclaims that Isidro is a "niño bendito y santo"; Bato declares that one cannot help loving the lad; and Pedro, Isidro's father, asserts that though he and Inés did not need a peacemaker, Isidro has become an angel of peace between them.

The suggestion as to Isidro's mental maturity might be underlined by his awareness of the hand of God in nature, and by the pertinent question he asked when he wished to give his coat to the beggar: how can one be charitable as an adult if he has not learned to be so as a child?

We take note also of the boy's courtesy to his parents and elders, and even to those of his own age; for example, he tells the other boys, who are of higher station, that he is not worthy to play with them. His knowledge of theological doctrines is profound; in his "Christus A, B, C" he touches on the Trinity, the Law and its inclusion in the two precepts of Christ, the perpetual virginity of Mary, transubstantiation, the fall of man, and--a controversial point--the winning of eternal life through good works. Isidro prays earnestly and frequently for divine guidance; he is practical and sensible, as we see in his comments on boys' games; he is generous with the beggar

and with the stranger who turns out to be Christ; and he has that quality so often emphasized in the comedias de santos: humility, as seen in his calling himself sackcloth while he considers Iván and Luis brocade.

Among Isidro's attitudes can be seen a zealous desire for piety, charity, and wisdom. He evaluates Christ, who seems a stranger, as a man "cuerdo, honesto, sabio y limpio"; are these his notions of perfection? Isidro is distinctive in his lack of interest in the monastic life; he states his intention to work in the fields rather than entering the priesthood.¹ St. Isidore, then, clearly subscribes to hard work. In this connection it is noted that he immediately goes to help his father when he sees the opportunity.

Theology, Miracles, and Demonology

A number of theological doctrines are mentioned briefly in the "Christus A, B, C" recited by the boy Isidro in Act II.² The play opens with a declaration of faith in Mary as benefactress and mediatrix, when Inés, Isidro's mother, addresses the Virgin:

En vos, de vos y por vos,
Virgen, está, viene y tiene
el alma el favor que viene
de Dios, ¡oh Madre de Dios!
.....
que sois fuente de la vida,
y madre de piedad. . . .³

¹The playwright was, of course, confined by history in this matter.

²See above, p. 457.

³Aguilar III, 309.

Inés later declares her unalterable belief in the Immaculate Conception.

Aside from a mere mention of the struggle against the Moors, no heresies are attacked. Astrology, mythology, and superstitions in general are attacked--but by the bobo, not the saint.

Miracles include Pedro's vision of Isidro with his shining goad and crown, and two angels plowing for him; the heavenly voice which promises protection and fame for Isidro; and the appearance of Christ to Isidro, culminating in an impressive scene with two angels and a spread table. Another miracle is described: the intervention of the Virgin of Atocha during a battle led against the Moors by Juan Ramírez' grandfather, and the startling restoration to life of his wife and daughters.

There are no appearances of demons in La niñez de San Isidro.

The Play

Sources of the three plays on San Isidro are described under San Isidro, labrador de Madrid.

Humor in the play resides principally in Bato. It is sometimes burlesque, as in the episode of the flute; but it is never crude or obscene. The episode of the flute, incidentally, is an expanded version of a scene from the earlier San Isidro, labrador de Madrid. Bato's mispronunciations and odd opinions spread throughout much of the play. For example, when Pedro offers him a drink, he quips:

Ya me escomienza a sonar
el clo, clo, por el garguero.

Early in Act II he comes in from work so hungry, he declares, that his stomach is about to display a "for rent" sign.

In contrast to the malapropisms of Bato, the language of the characters of high station has dignity and wide vocabulary. Don Alvaro and don Juan, for example, near the end of Act I in a substantial conversation employ refined language and an elevated verse form, octavas reales.

The action of the play, though it has little suspense or real development, seems nevertheless logical and, as comedias de santos go, fairly smooth. Diego Marín¹ sees in La niñez de San Isidro Lope's only hagiological play with a subplot left hanging. The present writer is frankly not sure what the subplot is; he does not consider the scenes given to Juan and Elvira sufficiently developed or continuous enough to be considered a real subplot.

¹P. 164. For other references to the Isidro plays, see the closing paragraphs under San Isidro, labrador de Madrid.

La juventud de San Isidro, comedia famosa
en su canonización¹

First lines. Labradores y labradoras: Regocijo, zagales
de Iván de Vargas,
pues Isidro y María
juntan las almas.

Last lines. Ninfas y músicos: María e Isidro
paces confirman,
a pesar de los celos
y de la Envidia.

CHARACTERS²

Iván de Vargas	Tirso	} villanos
Doña Ana	Bartola	
Don Luis Ramírez	Dominga	
*Isidro	Gil	
*María	Lorenzo	
Cristo, pastor	La Envidia	
Músicos	La Mentira	
España	La Profecía	
	Una voz: La Virgen ³	

¹Aguilar III, 330-350. Written in 1622.

²Asterisks indicate the saints. María is ranked as a saint here, though technically she is a beata only. See BkSts, p. 408.

³The heavenly voice is not listed in the cast of characters; actually the Virgin not only speaks, but appears on a cloud (Aguilar III, 349).

Acto primero¹

There is general rejoicing as Isidro and María prepare for the marriage ceremony. Iván de Vargas and doña Ana mention the purity and virtue of the couple, and are glad that Isidro wishes to continue serving their household. Tirso, who is the son of Bato of La niñez de San Isidro, extends his wishes that even the flowers may increase for the couple, that they may be prosperous, and that no plague may harm them.

Alone with María, Isidro suggests that the first thing they should do is offer thanks to God; though He knows their thoughts, it is not well for those who are happy to neglect to tell Him so. María calls attention to the care with which she has worked the coverings of the nuptial bed; but Isidro suggests that they decorate the altar first.

Luis de Ramírez, returning from a victory over the Moors, tells Iván that the countryside was a lake of blood, especially after the Christians began to invoke Santiago. In the thick of the battle, a voice was heard prophesying the departure of the Moors from Spain.

Making a fiery appearance is La Envidia, claiming to have been sent by the star who lost the highest position in heaven, and who now finds pain in all good. She further claims that through her, death came into the world, Saul hated David, the Virgin and Child had to flee to Egypt, and the death of Christ Himself was brought about.

¹The first act is preceded by a loa, which praises Philip IV, the union of religion and state, and the canonization in one year of four Spanish saints (Isidro, Ignacio de Loyola, Francisco Xavier, and Teresa). In the face of so much glory, "desmáyase la Herejía."

Now she has come to cause the other workers to turn against the virtuous Isidro.

Tirso makes no progress in his speech to Bartola about "el matrimonio." After Bartola leaves, Envidia wanders in, apparently disguised as a laborer. Tirso, assuming that employment is the stranger's object, declares there are already too many hands. Envidia replies that some of them--and she mentions Isidro--are not fit to mention. Iván enters as a result of the protests of Tirso, whose faith in Isidro is not shaken. Iván, however, decides to see for himself whether the land is badly kept. After Iván has left, Tirso complains about this discord, and Envidia admits that Isidro's death is her object. Beginning to understand the identity of the stranger, Tirso invokes the saints and shouts warnings to the other workers.

With fire and drums, a scene portraying Isidro in the field is introduced. In a lyric passage, he praises the God whom he has seen in the manifestations of nature all around him. Envidia wonders by what means she can disturb such prayers as these. She resolves to have a wolf attack Isidro's donkey. But even as the other workers begin shouting excitedly about the wolf, Isidro remains in contemplation and prayer. The frustrated Envidia, reminded of Bernard, Jerome, Augustine, and Ambrose, bluntly warns Isidro that he had better look about his donkey; but Isidro replies that no one ever lost anything by talking with God. Envidia mentions the trials of Job, Joseph, and captive Israel. Isidro counters by

pointing out that God doubled Job's possessions, made Joseph a viceroy, and gave Israel liberty. Envidia gives up, declaring that struggling against some one who loves God is tantamount to struggling against God Himself.

Christ approaches, disguised as a shepherd. He states that He is not looking for a lost sheep, but for a favorite one. At first Isidro does not recognize Him, but when He commands angels to plow so that Isidro may pray, and reminds the saint of an earlier occasion when He asked him for food, Isidro declares that he will not let Him leave without kissing His feet. With musical accompaniment, Christ rises out of sight.

Iván talks briefly with Isidro; he refrains from scolding him because of what he has just seen. When he mentions the donkey, Isidro explains that the wolves killed him; when Iván points to the grazing animal, Isidro ascribes the miracle to a "certain shepherd" who was around earlier.

In a monologue, Iván admits that he was angry with Isidro, but the sight of the three dazzling youths plowing with six oxen made him realize that Envidia had deceived him. He concludes that he has no reason to be distrustful of Isidro if the angels of heaven are assisting him.

Acto segundo

María and Isidro agree on chastity as a "limpia y pura intención." She suggests that they might at least live under the same roof, but realizes that passions are not easily conquered.

She will dwell on the other side of the river, in a chapel dedicated to the Virgin. She promises to pray night and day, and entreats Isidro to continue to pray and to love her. Isidro declares that this decision is for their God; obedience in their mortal beings will remove offense from their immortal souls. But, he admits, María is half his heart and soul. His parting advice to his wife is that she not let the day dawn without communing with God, that she never miss mass, and that she be not content with her own goodness. Isidro gives María a ducado he has saved from his wages. María expresses her need of God at such a sad time as this.

Tirso gently reprimands Isidro, pointing out that God gave Adam a wife in Eden, and that, though it might be better to be pure, now that they are married, he should cherish his wife.

Tirso asks permission of Iván and Ana to marry Bartola. His reasons for this request include a long story about the cold winter nights, and how, at bedtime, a fireplace is not satisfactory. He sums up his feelings by declaring that he esteems Bartola more than forty fireplaces.

Envidia complains about the purity and piety of Isidro. She asserts that she does not know just why she trembles about him when she was not fearful about putting the Prince of light on a cross.

Stage directions now call for Isidro to be dressed in a hat and overcoat covered with cotton, to resemble snow. He expresses concern for Iván's wheat, but declares that he cannot bear to see the birds starve. As he feeds them, half a dozen birds descend from

a tree to eat. Envidia, angrier than ever with the charitable Isidro, decides to attack him through jealousy.

Bartola is enthusiastic about the amazing increase in the wheat and flour. Envidia confirms the miraculous nature of this increase, ascribing it to God's pleasure with Isidro. She summons Mentira to spread a lie about María. Mentira complains; a king, a prelate, a lady she would destroy; but a mere farmer! Envidia assures her that Isidro is considered a saint, and tells about the resurrection of the donkey, the restoration to life of a favorite horse of Iván's, and the water which came from the rock when Isidro called it forth.

Isidro is amazed when Mentira drops her lie about María's impurity. Calling it the greatest treason, he resolves to reprimand her.

Luis Ramírez requests that Iván ask Isidro to pray for Luis' sick child. They agree as to Isidro's saintliness, simplicity, modesty, and humility. After the departure of Luis, Iván sits down to contemplate the excellence of such humility as Isidro's. Sleep overtakes him, and with it come two clouds bearing España and Profecía, who discuss the coming of the Philips and the unparalleled canonization of four natives in one year. The "divine Philip" is mentioned with the statement that Heresy will then be quelled and Luther's pains doubled. Iván is greatly impressed with the predictions of España and Profecía regarding the future fame of Isidro; but he resolves to keep the secret because a saint, while alive, does not wish praise.

Tirso joins Isidro, who is walking resolutely toward the river. María, meanwhile, asks God why He is hindering her steps as she tries to clean the lamps at the altar. The Virgin appears, on a cloud, and warns her of the rumor which has upset Isidro. María immediately determines to cast her mantle on the water, and if it bears her weight, it will prove her innocence. Tirso and Isidro take this miracle as testimony in her behalf.¹ As Isidro and María embrace, Tirso quips that, pure though those embraces may be, he envies them.

The play ends as a group of dancing nymphs sing that the saintly couple is victorious over envy and jealousy.

Observations

Identity of the Saints

St. Isidore the Farmer, who died in 1170, was canonized in 1622. He is the patron of Madrid. Bl. Mary de la Cabeza died in 1175, and was beatified in 1697.²

Qualities of the Saints

As in San Isidro, labrador de Madrid and La niñez de San Isidro, the saintly qualities of the protagonists of La juventud

¹María evidently moves on a wheeled platform. Here are the instructions: "Muévase sobre una tabla de ruedas, y llegando a una escalera que bajara al teatro, con música, llegue a los brazos de Isidro."--Aguilar III, 350.

²BkSts, pp. 309 and 408. For further details, see "Identity of the Saints" under San Isidro, labrador de Madrid and La niñez de San Isidro.

de San Isidro are frequently described in the lines of other characters. Iván and Ana mention the honorable and pure qualities of Isidro and María; Envidia calls Isidro a "labrador divino" whose prayers she cannot disturb; and Christ Himself declares His satisfaction with Isidro's purity and innocence. In Act II, Envidia rants over the humility, piety, and charity of Isidro; Tirso calls him the crown and glory of Madrid; Iván and Luis commend Isidro's saintliness, simplicity, modesty and--twice in a few lines--humility.

The same qualities can be found in the saint's own words and actions. In his prayers, Isidro insists on his rude estate and lack of ability; his humility is again seen when he decides Christ's appearance to him was a dream, for he could never deserve such a favor. Isidro's knowledge of the Bible angers Envidia, for he is quite able to meet her arguments about Job, Joseph, and ancient Israel. He is concerned about helpless creatures: he feeds the birds when there is snow on the ground. Among his attitudes, we find a conviction that thanksgiving and worship are the first duties of man; that poverty, with purity, is more pleasing to God than material wealth; that prayer never results in loss, even if the wolves are attacking one's donkey; that one should pray daily, and attend church early, though not for any purpose of display; and that worship and care for the things of God take precedence even over the consummation of one's marriage.

The miracles which can be attributed to Isidro further confirm his sainthood. Angels plow for him so that he can spend his

time in prayer; the donkey is miraculously restored to life because Isidro refuses to interrupt his devotions to rescue it; when he feeds the birds, the supplies of wheat and flour are surprisingly augmented.

A miracle also testifies as to María's saintly character, when she is borne across the river on her cloak. Praised for her honor, purity, virtue, and chastity, María is set forth as an example when she declares that the greatest riches are virtue and understanding, and when she asserts that serving a good husband is tantamount to serving God.

Asceticism and withdrawal from the world are not prominent in the San Isidro plays; history has it that Isidro worked in the fields until his death. His convictions apparently led him to the good life, including hard work, rather than to asceticism or martyrdom.¹

Theology, Miracles, and Demonology

Doctrinal matters receiving stress in La juventud de San Isidro include a detailing of the fall of Satan, such terms as lucero suggesting scriptural sources;² an insistence on chastity as necessary in obedience to God;³ and the usual sort of references to the

¹On the other hand, one might wonder whether the coming of angels to do Isidro's work so that he might meditate and pray would tend to discourage earnest, willing labor.

²Isa. 14:12-15; Ezek. 28:14.

³Act II, scene 1. Cf. Gen. 1:28, 2:21-24, and 9:1.

immortality of the soul. Among theological beliefs particular to the play here under consideration, we note by Isidro's words and actions his determination, which approaches the proportions of a doctrine, to give God first place in his life; there are many who agree with Envidia that the devil never leaves the good people; and it is interesting to note that Tirso, suddenly aware of Envidia's diabolical nature, invokes Santa Quiteria, San Gil, and San Pantaleón.¹

The allegorical figure Profecía attacks heresy in general and Luther in particular, but without argumentation.²

Miracles in La juventud de San Isidro include the appearance of Christ as a shepherd, and His rising out of sight after talking with Isidro; the coming of the angels, at Christ's command, to plow for Isidro so that his prayers may continue; the restoration to life of the donkey, torn asunder by wolves; the increase in the supplies of grain and flour; the prophetic vision given Iván; the appearance of the Virgin on a cloud; and María's passage across the river, on her cloak. Three miracles are described but not seen: the prophecy of Spain's future greatness, given by a heavenly voice during a battle with the Moors; the resurrection of Iván's horse; and Isidro's calling water from a rock, after the manner of Moses.

The devil himself does not appear in La juventud de San Isidro. Envidia adequately represents the lower regions, emerging from a

¹BkSts, pp. 499, 267, and 456, respectively.

²Aguilar III, 349.

"boca de infierno" with fiery effects. She ascribes to herself Saul's hatred for David, the flight of the Holy family to Egypt, and the death of Christ. She seeks to create envy of Isidro among the laborers. On one occasion she argues directly with Isidro. Later, she summons Mentira to come to her aid. Mentira at first grumbles that this farmer is beneath her dignity; but, learning of his saintly reputation, she gladly produces the slander about María.

The Play¹

As is the case with most comedias de santos, La juventud de San Isidro is carried along more by the personalities of its saintly protagonists, Isidro and María, than by successful development, climax, and resolution of plot. The outcome of Envidia's last attack--the calumny against María--is hardly more acceptable than her other attacks as a climax to the whole drama. Perhaps this is why the dramatist felt he needed to introduce a band of nymphs to announce that Isidro and María were victorious and that ends the story for today.

Humor, on the other hand, is handled with success and charm. Tirso, who is the son of Bato, the gracioso of La niñez de San Isidro, is a worthy successor to his ever-hungry father:

Sin duda que yo nací
en alguna comilona
estrella, en Tauros o vacas,
signo de ajos y cebollas.²

¹Sources of the San Isidro plays are mentioned under San Isidro, labrador de Madrid.

²Aguilar III, 345.

Tirso is also like Bato in his mispronunciations: when Isidro and María are married, he wishes that their wealth may not be equalled even by that of "Julio Céspedes ni Agosto."¹ He has a sparkling comment for most situations, including Envidia's accusation against Isidro, in reply to which Tirso cordially threatens to break her head.²

¹Ibid., p. 333.

²Ibid., p. 337. For mention of studies in which the Isidro plays are cited, see the concluding paragraph under San Isidro, labrador de Madrid.

Other Comedias de Santos

Because they duplicate the by-now familiar pattern of the comedia de santos, the plays in this section will be discussed in less detail than those so far studied.

San Diego de Alcalá¹

San Diego de Alcalá portrays St. Didacus (c. 1400-1463), who was born of poor parents in Seville; became a Franciscan lay-brother; was, "on account of his remarkable ability and goodness," appointed guardian of the main friary at Fuerteventura, in the Canaries; and, after a pilgrimage to Rome, died at Alcalá. He was canonized in 1588.² A brief appearance is made by St. Francis.

In the play, Diego decides to become a Franciscan. He tries unsuccessfully to obtain his father's understanding. A divine voice approves when Diego enters a monastery. In Act II, Diego's father learns that the young man has earned a solid reputation for sanctity, and has gone to the Canaries. Diego explains the remarkably short trip back from the Canaries as answered prayer; and another prayer, this time for food for him and his companions, is answered with equally miraculous effect. Reaching the place where the Moorish Alí, whom Diego sought to convert in Act I, works in a bakery, they find that Alí has fired up the oven and inadvertently killed the baker's son, who was sleeping inside. Diego calls on

¹Written in 1613.

²BkSts, p. 172.

the God who protected the three Hebrew youths in the fiery furnace; the boy is restored, and Alí is converted. Act III opens after Diego's return from Rome. A humorous scene depicts the distributing of food to the poor.¹ In answer to Diego's prayer for help to keep Fray Pedro from abandoning the monastery, Christ and San Francisco appear. Another friar, Juan, is much impressed with the saintly qualities of the unlettered Diego. The devil annoys Diego as he collects vegetables for the poor. The cook and dining steward of the monastery complain about Diego's taking so much food for the poor. When the guardian catches him with bread under his skirts, however, the bread turns into roses. The guardian decides to go no further in a struggle against one whose miracles are proof of sanctity. By yet another miracle, Diego is whisked to the bedside of his dying father, then returned to his post. Diego dies amid expressions of admiration, as he asks pardon from all around him. A divine fragrance accompanies his death. A grief-stricken boy, inquiring as to how he will obtain food from now on, is surprised to see the arm of the dead saint pick up a loaf and hand it to him.

The saintly qualities of Diego are clearly revealed. Like Francisco in El rústico del cielo, he dislikes harming creatures or plants in any way. He respects the images and symbols of his religion. He has faith: faith in God's power to cleanse the life, to calm the sea, to provide food, and even to transport him instantly

¹Several earlier plays have similar scenes. An exchange of name-calling in this one reminds us of Juan de Dios y Antón Martín.

to his father's bedside. He has a keen sense of duty. Patience is outstanding among Diego's qualities. His prayers are marked with expressions of gratitude, and his speech reveals a thorough knowledge of the Scriptures. Significant is his willingness to die as a martyr. A dozen miracles are ascribed to his intercessory powers. Diego believes that war is justified by opposition to orthodox faith; his other opinions include approval of motherhood and large families, and this maxim: "Quien no sirve a Dios nunca espere buen suceso."¹

Diego's most manifest quality is his humility. He gives the credit to God for all the miracles, accepting no honor for himself; he calls himself nothing, dirty, unjust, earth, ashes, miserable, ignorant, an idiot, a mosquito, a stupid man; he declares that he does not deserve even the grass provided for the animals; he asserts that he is willing to kiss a robe of sackcloth thread by thread; he casts himself at the feet of the other friars; and he helps a leper whom no one else would look at.

Diego's death is humble, saintly, and marked by a miracle; his reputation is certain. Among the lives of other characters in the play we find these saintly traits mentioned: simplicity, humility, penitence, pious works, abstinence, innocence, virtue, ardent charity, knowledge, purity, goodness, silence, and calm. With such emphasis, the saintly character almost becomes a dogma. Miracles and devotion to Mary are given as requisites for sainthood; and, in an interesting

¹Acad. V, 60.

commentary, it is explained that canonization arises through the desire of God and man to honor the dead saint.

Other doctrines cited in the play are the existence of the Trinity, the immortality of the soul, and God's power to cleanse from any sin:

Pero de cualquier desgracia
bien puede el Señor librarme,
y más que nieve dejarme
con el agua de su gracia.¹

Mariology is prominent: angels sing Mary's praises, and Diego declares he owes his being and his favors from heaven, after God, to her.

Menéndez y Pelayo² mentions as possible sources Gabriel de Mata's biography of San Diego (Alcalá, 1589)³ and Melchor de Cetina's Discursos sobre la vida del glorioso Padre San Diego (Madrid, 1609), but adds that he believes Lope followed the Ribadeneyra Flos Sanctorum. In its loose and disconnected plot, in its awkward time lapses, in its doctrines, and in its portrayal of the saintly personality, San Diego de Alcalá is typical of the inferior comedias de santos.

¹Ibid., p. 38. La fianza satisfecha is an extreme example of this doctrine dramatically portrayed.

²Estudios, II, 54.

³Penney gives the date of this work as 1598, and it is so listed in Appendix D.

El capellán de la Virgen¹

St. Ildephonsus (607-667) is eulogized in El capellán de la Virgen. The nephew of St. Eugene of Toledo, Ildephonsus was born at Toledo, studied at Seville under St. Isidore, and in 657 was made archbishop of Toledo.

He was responsible for the unification of the Spanish liturgy and excelled as a writer, chiefly on Mariology. It is said that our Lady appeared to him and gave him a chasuble. In Spain he is honored liturgically as a doctor of the church.²

Also in the play are St. Eugene (d. 657), archbishop of Toledo, poet, musician, and "most zealous for all that pertained to divine worship";³ and St. Braulio, archbishop of Zaragoza, writer, hagiographer, and one of the patron saints of Aragon.⁴ A brief appearance is miraculously made by St. Leocadia, who died about 303 in prison, condemned by Diocletian to die for her faith.⁵ The Virgin Mary also both appears and speaks in the play.

The play opens as Ildefonso extols at length the virtues of Isidore, whom he holds as a model. Mendo and Nuño, servants, in their turn praise Ildefonso. There is a discussion of the scholastic sort as Ildefonso, Braulio, Ramiro (another student), and Nuño talk about the rank of angels and virgins, concluding that the number of the redeemed will equal the number of fallen angels, and that Mary is superior to the angels for she is their queen. Called back to

¹Written between 1613 and 1616.

²BkSts, p. 304.

⁴Ibid., p. 114.

³Ibid., p. 210.

⁵Ibid., p. 367.

Toledo, Ildefonso bids farewell to Braulio, and each predicts the other's promotion. Ildefonso describes to the Virgin his ire against those who have spoken ill of her "vientre santo" and "entrañas puras," and pledges his support, though it should mean death, of her perpetual virginity. Later, as arcediano of Toledo, Ildefonso hides from his father, and, after the searchers have left, resolves to become a religious. Much later, after the death of San Eugenio, Ildefonso is made archbishop of Toledo. King Recisundo and Duke Favila praise Ildefonso, and witness the emergence of Santa Leocadia from her tomb to bring approval from the Virgin Mary for Ildefonso's efforts in behalf of her purity. In a vivid closing spectacle, the Virgin's throne descends, Ildefonso rises, and she bestows upon him a chasuble from her Son. Ildefonso's last lines are full of gratitude and humility.

In a subplot, Favila seeks to win Rosinda's affection by opening the dreaded cave near the Tajo, which King Recisundo has had sealed so as to avoid being the king who loses Spain through curiosity about what the cave contains.

Ildefonso's reputation is established by a number of the other characters. Nuño observes that the saint has love only for Mary; Ramiro declares that no one loves Mary as Ildefonso does, and that he has angelic zeal; Ana, Mendo's mother, considers him a "querido santo"; and the king praises him exorbitantly, asserting that God's spirit speaks through Ildefonso's sermons as if he were an angel, and declaring his own willingness to serve the saint as

one whom God has crowned. Finally, Ildefonso is lauded by the Virgin herself.

Ildefonso's consuming interest is the perpetual virginity of Mary. Among other attitudes, we find that he reveres Isidore and Leocadia, commending the former on his having quelled the tide of Arianism; with respect to war, it is noted that he tells Ramiro that one can serve God against the Arians as well in uniform as in clerical garb; twice he makes it clear that he looks on death as the beginning of life.

The most obvious characteristic of San Ildefonso is his humility. When praised, he insists on his worthlessness, carelessness, ignorance, lack of polish, and scant ability. He accepts the see of Toledo only under much pressure.

The doctrine of Mary's perpetual virginity is virtually the only doctrine taken up in El capellán de la Virgen. Mendo and Nuño take up arms (a pole) to defend the dogma, and even an angel is made to praise her. This play also contains its reference to the bruising of the head of the serpent.¹

Legends about San Ildefonso are in the Speculum Historiale of Vincent de Beauvais, the Fabliaux of Gautier de Coincy, and other collections. The first of Berceo's Milagros de Nuestra Señora deals with Ildefonso, as does the second of the Cantigas of Alfonso el Sabio. Beneficiado de Ubeda wrote a Vida de San Ildefonso, and the famous archpriest, Alfonso Martínez de Toledo, left a manuscript

¹Gen. 3:15.

under the same title. The story of Ildefonso was in all the versions of the Flos Sanctorum.¹

The subplot does not enhance the play; one expects conflict between Ramiro and Favila over Rosinda, but none occurs, and one expects the cave prophecy to be fulfilled by the uprising of Wamba, but nothing happens. A second subordinate thread of plot deals with the aged Ana, Mendo's mother, who receives a visit from an angel. Some of the scenes in these two lines of action can be explained only as padding. The usual observations of lack of cohesion, awkward leaps from place to place and from year to year, and absence of development and interest in the plot must be made about El capellán de la Virgen. The tone of the piece is seventeenth-century throughout, there being scarcely a glimpse of seventh-century Visigothic Spain. The humor of the play, however, is definitely superior; we need only compare the crudities of the Negress in El santo negro Rosambuco or of Calahorra in Juan de Dios y Antón Martín with the following example of the "sonetadas enormes" in "estilo extravagante" written for his lover by Nuño:

Inés, tus bellos, ya me matan, ojos,
y al alma, roban pensamientos, mía,
desde aquel triste, en que te vieron, día,
con tan crueles, por tu causa, enojos.²

¹Menéndez y Pelayo, Estudios, II, 43.

²Aguilar III, 275.

San Nicolás de Tolentino¹

St. Nicholas of Tolentino (1245-1305) was a native of Sant'-Angelo, in the diocese of Fermo. He joined the hermits of St. Augustine in 1263. After his ordination to the priesthood, he made a resolution to preach daily to the people; this he did, first at Cingoli, and then for thirty years at Tolentino. Also remembered for his work among the poor, he was canonized in 1446.² St. Mary and St. Augustine appear briefly during the play, as does Christ Himself, first as a pilgrim and later as the Divine Judge.

The first scene of the play finds Nicolás, as a student, taking part in a scholastic discussion as to whether women are born better than men. Preferring to avoid the fiesta the town is having, he goes to an Augustinian monastery, at the door of which a pilgrim asks alms. Nicolás gives him all he has, a hundred coins. The pilgrim almost kisses Nicolás' feet in gratitude, saying that he once kissed one who sold him, and only thirty coins were involved. He promises protection to Nicolás. Ursino, Nicolás' nephew, climbs a ladder toward an adventure of love, but finds a skeleton at the top. He falls as a dead man, whereupon with great effect, "ábrese un Tribunal con el Juez Divino, la Justicia y la Misericordia." The devil reviews all Ursino's sins, but the Virgin secures his pardon for the sake of his uncle Nicolás. The decision of the Judge (whom Mary addresses as Son) is in favor of Ursino; the devil swears revenge on Nicolás. After hearing a sermon by a celebrated Fray

¹Probably written in 1614.

²BkSts, p. 440.

Rogelio, Nicolás resolves to become an Augustinian. His parents are sad but give their consent. Act II reveals Nicolás about his work as a religious, distributing bread which increases miraculously when supplies run low, and which turns into herbs to thwart a suspicious prior. Fray Peregrino tells of a vision he received while with Nicolás; it seemed that Christ was condemning him to the flames when the Virgin interceded and secured his pardon. Ruperto, Nicolás' former servant, makes a great issue, pícaro-fashion, about food; Nicolás settles the discussion by giving the basket to a beggar. The prayer of the saint restores a boy to life. When Nicolás falls ill, the physician urges him to eat a quail; the saint, eager to keep his vegetarian vows, calls on the Virgin and St. Augustine, who descend with instructions for him to eat a little cake dipped in water. When the bird is brought in, the saint blesses it and it is restored to life. Act III begins with Fray Peregrino's declaration that Nicolás is known as the saint of the miracles. The santo sudario¹ is displayed in an impressive ceremony. Nicolás, mending his tunic and talking to it while he works, takes up such doctrines as the Trinity, the fall of man, the promise of the Redeemer, and the virginity of Mary. The devil, assisted by Inobediencia, Carne, and Ira, is unable to make Nicolás lose his patience even by such tricks as hiding his clothing. Under instructions from an angel, Nicolás strikes a rock and water comes forth; Ruperto wonders whether the

¹The shroud in which Christ is supposed to have been buried.

rock might offer any wine. Nicolás is given a vision of Peregrino, Floro, and his parents in Purgatory. The devil, "con otras diversas figuras, como leones, sierpes y otras así," praises Nicolás but embarks on an attack on the saint. There is a noisy scene as the devil and his cohorts fight against Nicolás, the prior, and Ruperto, who is armed with a broom and pot lid. In another spectacular miracle, one of Nicolás' little cakes puts out a fire. The saint dies amid the praise of his companions and of a crowd outside, and is seen, in a starry robe, rescuing his parents' souls from Purgatory and rising heavenward with them.¹

A saintly quality which can early be detected in Nicolás is his concern for others: he seeks to have his friends visit a religious establishment rather than risk the pitfalls of a festival, he gives all his money and his cloak to a pilgrim who asks alms, and he always has food and helpful suggestions for the poor. Nicolás is sensible under stress, he respects his parents, he is willing to imitate the sufferings of Christ, he is eager for sickness if it can increase virtue, he mortifies his flesh with a rock and a chain, he has faith in the power of God to heal and to provide water, and--as always--he is humble and unassuming. Those around him commend him on his quick mind, discretion, humility, generosity, and miracles. The devil praises him for chastity, purity, and fame; and an angel calls him "agustino Moisés." St. Augustine praises Nicolás, and it is declared that the populace knows him as the saint of the miracles.

¹Ursino and Floro apparently did not yet merit release.

Even when on his death bed, the saint wants to be doing; and during an earlier confinement, he busily sewed. The devil complains loudly about industriousness, relating it to purity. Nicolás' attitude toward women, however, is not entirely favorable; he declares that Eve fell, being a woman, and that women have been giddy ever since.

Our only possible reservation with regard to the saintly character of Nicolás is that on three occasions he suggests that the idea of reward in the hereafter is prominent among his motivations.

As in San Diego de Alcalá, the holy life almost takes on the force of a doctrine in San Nicolás de Tolentino. It is described twice, by Ruperto in Act I and by Fray Peregrino in Act II. For them, the holy life consists in humility, abstinence, prayer, miracles, fasts, obedience, charity, scourgings, and industriousness.¹

Other doctrines emphasized in San Nicolás de Tolentino are the Trinity, the detention of souls in purgatory, the fall of Lucifer, the intercessory power of Mary, and the ability of a person in favor with heaven to intercede for a sinful relative. There are two long theological arguments, one about whether women are better born than men and the other about venial and mortal sins. The prophecy of Genesis 3:15 is mentioned twice.

San Nicolás de Tolentino is probably based on the Ribadeneyra Flos Sanctorum. The play is full of miracles--nearly a dozen and a

¹Compare the saint's industriousness with the anti-work attitude of the gentleman of the time. An example is the lazy hidalgo of the first scene of San Diego de Alcalá.

half of them--and of noisy complaints and attacks by devils. The usual problems of lack of suspense and sudden leaps through time weaken the play, but it does reveal the typical saint of the siglo de oro stage, who is called by the prior attending his death a "divino espejo de santidad."¹

La niñez del Padre Rojas²

B1. Simón de Rojas (1522-1624) was a native of Valladolid. He became a Trinitarian superior and a famous missionary. In later life he was a tutor to the royal family. He was beatified in 1766.³ St. Gabriel the archangel occasionally appears, to instruct Simón.

The play opens as Vice objects to the stammering Simón's serving God; Virtue declares that if the prophet who said he was dumb could leave such pages as we have today, nothing is impossible. Though Gregorio, Simón's older brother, complains about the lad's spending so much time in church, their mother declines to punish him for serving God. Simón, praying that he might be enabled to praise the Virgin adequately, is healed of his stuttering by an angel who asserts that the Virgin sent him. Simón offers ninety-six lines of praise to the Virgin, ending with a plea for a teacher. Gabriel immediately appears to teach him of the perpetual purity of Mary, who was the firstfruits among women and who did not wish to accept Gabriel's message until assured that God would protect her purity.

¹Aguilar III, 268.

²Written in 1625.

³BkSts, p. 544.

Simón and Gregorio, accompanied by Crispín, leave to pursue their studies. Vice reprimands Gabriel for so hedging Simón about that he cannot fall. In Act II, Gabriel informs Simón that he does not approve of the card-playing and alliances of Crispín. When the servant speaks of one of his lovers, Simón shames him with a poem addressed to the Virgin. Gregorio scolds Crispín for wasting his time, and, in a delightful scene, proves Crispín's scanty knowledge of Latin:

Gregorio: ¿Y qué dirá, según eso,
Satis est brevis oratio?

Crispín: Que son sastres los que hicieron
las bragas a Horacio.

Permission is granted for Crispín and Marina to be married. Each of the Seven Sins tempts Simón; Pride, for example, asks him what he would do if a queen knelt at his feet,¹ but Simón replies that he would humbly kiss the ground a thousand times, because one should deny worldly honor. When it is shouted that the edifice has been ignited by candles burning in the Virgin's honor, Simón prays to her for help and an angel puts out the flames. Act II ends with a note of suspense as Vice announces that he is not yet through with Simón. Act III opens with the festivities of Crispín's wedding. Simón pronounces a long psalm of praise to the Virgin and her immaculate conception, referring to her as having been made a goddess a thousand centuries before she was born. The saint is so moved by the tears of a child that he sends it to his home for care, and promises concern for all children from now on. Marina has to be convinced that

¹Prognostication; Padre Rojas became confessor at the court of Philip III.

the child is not the result of some unhappy former alliance of Crispín's, but she takes Simón's word without hesitation. Vice and his companions admit their defeat, commending Simón on his humility and piety. Gabriel tells of Simón's future, and a tableau scene offers Padre Rojas kneeling before a representation of the Annunciation.

It is said of Simón that he spends much time in church, he prefers heavenly love to the earthly sort, and he is held up as a saintly example. Marina, a maid, finds it impossible to believe that he would lie. Simón himself mentions faith, charity, prayer, hope, piety, purity, and obedience as qualities that he covets, and Gabriel confirms their presence in the life of the priest, adding that his poverty and humility are enviable. Vice suggests that Simón's fasts, prayers, and obedience are such as should bring peace to any heart. With humility, chastity, poverty, generosity, and other saintly attributes, he wins the victory over the seven sins, one by one. Simón is devoted to Mary; he loves to contemplate the scene of the Annunciation, he desires only to praise her, he recites verses to her, he carries her image on his breast, and he declares that he would rather die than stop worshiping her. He takes no credit to himself for miracles; indeed, he is so modest and humble that Crispín, a servant, declares that when Simón goes to mass, one does not even know that he is in the church.

Mariology is prominent in La niñez del Padre Rojas. It is affirmed that she was the firstfruits among women as Christ was

among men, that she answers prayer, that she was free from sin,¹ that she was immaculately conceived, and that she was made to be queen of the angels. Briefly mentioned are the fall of Satan, with the suggestion that pride was his sin, and the notion that God is glorified in His saints.

La niñez del Padre Rojas, with its emphasis on saintliness, its Mariology, and its abstract characters, has comparatively few miracles and demonic manifestations. There is at least a suggestion of suspense at the end of Act II when Vice vows to renew his attack on Simón, but on the whole, the plot as such is dramatically dull. Some cohesion comes through the fact that the play deals only with a part of the holy man's life; the promised sequel, however, is unknown.²

La vida de San Pedro Nolasco³

St. Peter Nolasco (c. 1182-1258), a native of Languedoc, served against the Albigenses and later settled at Barcelona, where he became a friend of St. Raymund of Peñafort. About the year 1218, assisted by King James I of Aragon, the two saints reorganized a lay group dedicated to ransoming captives from the Moors. This group grew into the Order of the Mercedarians, of which St. Peter Nolasco is revered as the chief founder. He was canonized in 1628.⁴

¹It is interesting to note that when Vice objects to Simón's and the Virgin's having been hedged about and protected from sinning, Gabriel makes no defense.

²La niñez del Padre Rojas has been studied by Diego Marín (pp. 95-98).

³Written in 1629.

⁴BkSts, p. 470.

St. Raymund of Penafort (1175-1275), a Dominican, studied and taught at Barcelona. He codified canon law, his five books of the decretals being the most authoritative codification of ecclesiastical law until 1917. He resided in later years in Mallorca. "The part he took, if any, in the foundation of the Mercedarians is still open to controversy."¹

The Virgin Mary makes several brief appearances in La vida de San Pedro Nolasco.

As the play opens, the Count of Monfort is engaged against the Count of Tolosa, who, in Monfort's view, is an Albigensian heretic, opposed to the perpetual purity of Mary. Pedro Nolasco, though the nephew of the Count of Tolosa, declares that his first allegiance is to the queen of heaven, and, with his servant Pierres, joins Monfort's troops. Pedro's banner in honor of Mary blinds his uncle, who gives up the struggle. Spain and France contest Pedro; by pointing out that the remains of San Eugenio and San Domingo are in France, Spain earns the right to Pedro Nolasco. In Barcelona, Pedro has the whole city praising his saintly example. Soon he is assigned to the palace of King James. In a spectacular vision, Mary instructs Pedro to imitate her Son and redeem captives--in this case, from the Moors. Act II opens with Pierres' description to a pilgrim of the founding of the Mercedarian Order. The pilgrim's outburst of wrath informs Pierres that the stranger is the one on whose brow Mary trod.² Despite the

¹Ibid., p. 502. San Raimundo appears briefly, in Act I only.

²An application to Mary of the prophecy of Gen. 3:15.

devil's threats, Pedro and Pierres go to Valencia to redeem Christian captives. In Valencia, Alifa, a Moorish girl, has fallen in love with Juan, one of the captives. Promised liberty and slaves if he will marry Alifa, Juan reasons that he can always go back to his former religion later. But Pedro, mysteriously aware of Juan's precarious position, reaches him in time to win him back to his faith. King James and Luis de Moncado, discussing the campaign against Mallorca, resolve to await Pedro's return, for with him, storms cease, the winds are favorable, and victory is certain. Pedro arrives with a hundred captives. When a tired Pierres oversleeps and fails to ring for matins, the Virgin and a company of angels sing the service. Act III opens with the revelation that with the prayers of Pedro as a decisive factor, Mallorca has been taken from the Moors. Pedro now turns his prayers toward delivering Italy from the power of Frederick. In a long expository passage (179 lines), doña Teresa tells another captive how King James jilted her. Pedro, learning of her story, advises her to conceal her identity and seek ransom. In prayer, Pedro declares his desire to be a martyr; an angel brings word that the wish is as acceptable as the deed, and goes on to describe the future accomplishments of the Mercedarians. Pedro then requests that the Moors be allowed to mistreat him, so that he can at least imitate his Master in suffering. The closing scene begins with the entrance of a ship, with a salvo from the cannons and an impressive number of redeemed captives on board. In the midst of all this, the Virgin of la Merced puts in a majestic appearance. With regard to Teresa, Pedro merely tells

the king to face his obligation; the king agrees to comply, but Teresa now decides to take her love to a convent. The king promises a sumptuous edifice for worship, and the play ends with praise for Philip IV.

Pedro Nolasco very early makes it clear that his duty to God must outweigh the wishes of his relatives. He has faith in the God to Whom he is devoted, and expresses his thanks to Him often, giving glory to God for the military victories, and to God and the Virgin for the ransomed captives. The following qualities are found in either Pedro's actions or the testimony of persons around him: purity, fasting, prayer, trust, holy zeal, works of charity, generosity with the poor, scorn for earthly glory, concern over the suffering of the captives, and willingness to suffer and die for his Master. He is discreet in not blurting out the whole story of the affair between King James and doña Teresa. Even as a child, he was known for his devotion to Mary, and claimed to have her name written on his soul. It is noted that the saint not only approves of war against the Albigensians, but joins in the fray. He also approves of war to win and convert Mallorca, and to keep Italy out of the hands of Frederick. One might question Pedro's adulation of the king, especially when he calls him an angel; if Teresa's story is true, Jaime is no angel.

Mariology is found throughout La vida de San Pedro Nolasco. Her perpetual purity is defended, and compared to that of the angels; she is praised as the mother of the Redeemer; a bright banner in her honor blinds the opposing Albigensian forces; she is said to have been the creator of her Creator; and she is looked upon as the fulfillment

La vida de San Pedro Nolasco was written in 1629, soon after the saint's canonization. Like the majority of comedias de santos, it is an accumulation of vignettes from the real or imaginary life of the saint, with little structural organization. The play could almost end after Act II, the only remaining element of suspense being in the uncertainty of the outcome of the Mallorcan campaign. However, Act III seems somehow to move fairly well, in spite of getting off to a dull start made duller by doña Teresa's 179 lines of exposition. It is a comparatively calm comedia de santos; the miracles are placid and the devil's appearances are quiet. He appears as a pilgrim briefly, and then as the father of Alifa, resorting to no flames, pitchforks, or ugly assistants.

Menéndez y Pelayo believed that the dramatist leaned heavily on four works by the poet Alonso Ramón. He may have followed a work of a Sevillian friar, Bernardo de Vargas, entitled Chronica sacri et militaris ordinis Deiparae Virginis Mariae de Mercede (Palermo, 1619). In Messina, in 1629, was published an Additio ad opusculum de vita et gestis Sancti Petri Nolasci. In 1588, in Salamanca, Francisco Zumel, a professor of theology, had published a De fundatione ordinis . . . ejusdemque viris illustribus. In the vernacular, the Bishop of Jaca, Felipe de Guimerán, published in Valencia in 1591 a work entitled: La vida del Siervo de Dios fray Pedro Nolasco, el segundo deste nombre; sacerdote observantísimo del Orden de la Merced.¹

¹Menéndez y Pelayo, Estudios, II, 50-52. La vida de San Pedro Nolasco has also been studied by Diego Marín (pp. 138-139).

Plays Other than Comedias de Santos

Often classified as comedias de santos, but inadmissible according to the definitions of the present study, are La buena guarda, La fianza satisfecha, and Los guanches de Tenerife. La fianza satisfecha includes no saints or beati; the other two plays do contain appearances of the Virgin Mary, but can by no means be considered comedias de vidas de santos.

The story of La buena guarda, or, as it appears in the manuscript, La encomienda bien guardada, can be traced at least as far as the ninety-third cantiga of Alfonso el Sabio. It concerns the legend of the Virgin's replacing a wayward nun until she returned penitently to her duties. Maeterlinck's Soeur Beatrice and Zorrilla's Margarita la tornera are later treatments of the same legend. La buena guarda is, then, a leyenda piadosa rather than a comedia de santos. It is of interest that Lope has an angel replace the missing girl, but the angel acts on instructions from the Virgin. "The substitution of an angel to impersonate doña Clara, for the Virgin herself, weakens this poetic incident and vitiates the dramatic feeling of the miracle."¹ Lope no doubt anticipated such objections as the following:

. . . . Ciertamente que ya es mucha confianza en la misericordia divina la que necesitaban tener nuestros clásicos. . . . No podemos estimar las bellezas literarias de La buena guarda contrapeso suficiente para incluirla en esta colección.²

¹Spencer & Schevill, p. 306.

²González Ruiz, II, xxxvii.

By "bellezas literarias" González Ruiz refers to Menéndez y Pelayo's assertion that La buena guarda "es, sin duda, la joya del teatro religioso de Lope y una de las obras más bellas de su repertorio."¹ Spencer and Schevill agree that "there are numerous passages of poetic beauty and several lyrical passages of striking sweetness and melody."²

But we are curious about the glimpses of the saint and the doctrines which are found in the play. The mercy and patience of St. Mary obviously underlie the whole story. She does not appear at great enough length, however, to reveal any other specific qualities. Doctrines found in the dialogue include the perpetual purity of Mary, her intercessory power, and her ability to obtain from God all that she asks. The angel impersonating Clara leans heavily on the Scriptures in explaining God's mercy, and affirms that penitential acts make restitution for sin. Clara's last-act declaration that prayer is useless where the individual will not relinquish evil desires seems inconsistent with the basic story of the play; she herself had prayed to the Virgin to care for her charge, all the while knowing full well she was about to enter a life of sin. And her prayer was signally answered.

The Virgin Mary also appears in Los guanches de Tenerife y conquista de Canaria. She does not utter a word, however.

¹Menéndez y Pelayo, Estudios, II, 85.

²Spencer & Schevill, p. 306. The play is summarized by these writers.

St. Michael both appears and speaks, explaining his position as leader of the heavenly host and threatening the heathen king of the Canaries with a fiery sword. Under such pressure, King Bencomo yields to the Spaniards and the main thread of the plot is resolved; the closing scene contains a revelation of the image of the Candelaria Virgin, which so impresses the natives that they request immediate baptism.¹ A secondary thread in the plot concerns the love of Castillo, a Spanish soldier, and Dacil, the island princess. Dacil, unsure of Castillo's devotion, has him swear before the Virgin's image in somewhat the same fashion that Zorrilla later describes in A buen juez, mejor testigo. The image responds to Dacil's plea for a witness, and performs several other miracles, besides.

It is noted that St. Michael states his support of Spanish Christianity; indeed, it is claimed more than once in this play that invasion and slaughter are justified by religious motivation. The fall of Lucifer is described briefly; other doctrines are absent.

Los guanches de Tenerife was based on a long poem by Antonio de Viana, entitled Antigüedades de las Islas Afortunadas de la Gran Canaria (Sevilla, 1604). It is not the same play as Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria.²

Completely without saints, but with a pointed doctrinal teaching, is La fianza satisfecha. Considered a seventeenth-century

¹How they knew about baptism is not made clear.

²María Rosa Alonso (ed.), Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria (Madrid: Ocaña, 1943), p. 10.

harbinger of Freud,¹ this play takes the idea of rebellion against God to its extreme development. Leonido sells his brother, kills his mother, puts out his father's eyes, tries to violate his sister, and becomes a Moslem out of pure spite. In the third act, Christ appears as a shepherd, lamenting the loss of a sheep. Leonido, in declaring that he would kill a straying sheep, pronounces his own sentence. The shepherd hands to Leonido a pouch containing a cross, a rope, a whip, and a robe. He now appears to the rebel as the Crucified One, asserting that He has paid all his debts so far, but He has now come to collect, "que es ya tiempo que se vea satisfecha la fianza."² Leonido, suddenly aware of all his past sins, proposes that even his life cannot make an atonement; but he is willing to give it, nevertheless. The Moorish king, enraged at Leonido's confession of Christianity, has him crucified. In an impressive display, Leonido is seen on the cross, asking for forgiveness, expressing his joy at being permitted to imitate Christ, and declaring his faith in the salvation of God. His father miraculously recovers his sight on touching Leonido's bloody feet.

Doctrinal presentation in La fianza satisfecha includes a succinct description of the plan of salvation; an assertion that the Virgin is consolation for the pursued, help for sinners, and a remedy for the afflicted; and a declaration that martyrdom is tantamount to a passport to heaven.

¹Valbuena, Historia de la literatura, II, 240.

²Acad. V, 386.

In the audacity of the protagonist, the suggestion of incest, and the lesson of Christian charity and repentance, La fianza satisfecha is similar to Calderón's La devoción de la cruz. Also often compared to Lope's play are Mira de Amescua's El esclavo del demonio, and El condenado por desconfiado, usually ascribed to Tirso de Molina.

It is of interest that a twentieth-century editor and priest declined to include La fianza satisfecha in his collection, offering this explanation:

Es difícil encontrar junta mayor cantidad de barbaridades monstruosas a cuenta del protagonista. . . . Es tal la exageración injustificable, que no hemos querido correr el riesgo de ofrecer plato tan cargado a los lectores, sin excusa suficiente ni literaria ni teológica.¹

¹González Ruiz, II, xxxvii.

CONCLUSIONS

Sainthood, or perfection based on imitation of the life of Christ, is an ancient concept. In endeavoring to obtain a detailed understanding of sainthood as conceived by the seventeenth-century Spaniard, one naturally turns to the theater, which was genuinely national and popular and reflected the essence of contemporary Spanish thinking. Lope de Vega, who absorbed almost sponge-like the culture of the society in which he lived, is considered the creator of this at-once national and popular drama. Lope admittedly catered to the popular taste, and his enthusiasm for the saints can be assessed not only from his twenty-five or more plays about them but from two long poems: Isidro, published in 1599, and La Virgen de la Almudena, poema histórico, printed in Madrid about 1625.

The number of religious dramas in Spain ran to a distinctively large proportion, forming one of the most imposing expressions of Catholicism and its dogma that dramatic literature possesses. A principal type within the religious drama, and a reliable interpretation of popular faith, is the comedia de santos, descended from the misterios and autos of the misty centuries preceding the Golden Age. In the comedias de santos of Lope de Vega, who is widely accepted as a spokesman for the militant faith of his times, one can observe saints of many regions and periods. With the Villegas and Ribadeneyra

editions of the Flos Sanctorum as their greatest single sources--and these, in turn, were based largely on the Legenda Aurea of Jacobus de Voragine--these plays reveal that the saint was a hero in medieval times; and in Spain, where medieval faith continued through the Golden Age and established a bulwark against the Protestant reformation, the exploits of the saint continued to be as heroic as those of the military leader. The saint was presumed to be the person who approached as closely as humanly possible to Christ's perfection; he practiced all the Catholic virtues, and was therefore worthy of admiration and imitation.

In the fabric of the saints' portraits are woven frequent historical inaccuracies; the results of popular enhancement of the legends, such anecdotes had to be included to meet the demands of the public and of the dramatist's own convictions. Let it be admitted here that even with these embellishments, the lives of some saints do not lend themselves to dramatic portrayal. Sainthood too often excludes the kinds of conflicts of passion on which the drama thrives. The bandit who repents, or the man who sells his soul to the devil for possession of a woman, may afford the substance of a good comedia de santos; but one can hardly expect a compelling dramatization of a doctor of the church who spends his years translating the Scriptures.¹ Scenes from such a life, held together only by the presence of the protagonist, breach the unities of time, place, and action.

¹See Menéndez y Pelayo, Estudios, I, 293-294.

Still, it must be confessed, since this looseness and spontaneity make the plot and theme as confusing as life itself, that there is a certain realism in the comedia de santos. At least half of Lope's saints' plays, with their incongruous combinations of saints with devils, allegorical personifications with graciosos, scholars with rustics, and kings with lay brothers, would have to be described as a series of events and tableaux joined together only by the presence of the principal character or characters.

In most of the plays studied here, the delineation of character, also, leaves something to be desired. In the plays based on the rambling, "plotless" lives of many saints, character seems the main point; thus, if we agree that Lope's specialty is in plot rather than in character development,¹ we shall not be surprised to find that the saint often appears in only two dimensions. It should be remembered, furthermore, that not only was the dramatist confined by popular legend, but he was also obliged to avoid offending the officers of the Inquisition; offered as evidence for the latter point are his substitution of an angel for the Virgin in the role of her who replaced the wayward nun in La buena guarda and his failure to secure the censors' approval for an early dramatization of the life of St. Augustine. That opinions contrary to those generally approved by the church were indeed dangerous can be gathered from the nearly five years spent in prison by Fray Luis de León; Lope well knew that what might today be called the Inquisitorial Committee on Un-Catholic

¹Barja, p. 412.

Activities had disapproved Fray Luis' contention that the Old Testament does not teach that the soul is immortal. Here, then, is a possible explanation for the scarcity of great ideas in the comedia de santos: the spectacular, the superficial, so long as they remained within the framework of popular devotion, were much more safely dramatized than profound moral or theological questions. Most comedias de santos were therefore full of miracles, angels, devils, stage devices, and startling effects. Lope was, after all, a man for whom the major metaphysical problems had been solved; and he specifically condemns doubt of any of the church dogma or opinion. He appears to have been willing to leave metaphysical conclusions to the authorities, and to believe and preach what they told him about the presumed divine scheme of sin and salvation, hell and heaven, etc.

Shallowmess of character delineation and of ideas may offer some clue as to why Lope did not discern a kind of cosmic naïveté in parading so many saints across the stage in one play: San Segundo has ten, La madre de la mejor has a dozen, and El cardenal de Belén has sixteen, including the Holy Family. Shaw's play St. Joan and Unamuno's novelette San Manuel Bueno, mártir may be cited as evidence that modern writers, in contrast with Lope de Vega, find sufficient challenge in giving literary form to the character and actions of a single saint.

The total number of characters in a play, also, at times, reached staggering proportions. San Isidro, labrador, El divino

africano, El Serafín humano, and San Nicolás de Tolentino contain forty or more; El rústico del cielo contains about fifty-five; El cardenal de Belén and San Diego de Alcalá contains more than sixty; and Juan de Dios y Antón Martín has approximately eighty-five! Such a drama must have seemed more like a pageant than a comedia. Not all are like this, of course; seven plays¹ have roles for twenty-odd characters, and three have roles for fewer than twenty.²

Sixteen of the plays have roles for allegorical characters. Eleven have three or fewer such roles; La juventud de San Isidro has four; San Nicolás de Tolentino, five; El nacimiento de Cristo, eight; La niñez del padre Rojas, eleven; and La limpieza no manchada, seventeen. Some of these, such as Mentira, Envidia, and El Pecado Original, are practically indistinguishable from devils; but devils as such appear in a total of seventeen plays, if we count the Dragon of La madre de la mejor and the Serpent of El nacimiento de Cristo as devils. The Virgin Mary appears in nine of the twenty-five plays. The generous number of personified abstractions indicates that, apart from the one-act form of the auto sacramental and its usual final focus on the eucharist, Lope made little distinction between the comedia de santos and the auto sacramental.³

¹Since twenty-five plays are under consideration, the reader can arrive at percentages merely by multiplying by four.

²Two of these three plays are of two acts rather than the usual three: La niñez de San Isidro and La juventud de San Isidro. The third is El santo negro Rosambuco.

³This has been shown (above, Chapter VI) to be especially true in La limpieza no manchada.

Doctrinally, in sixteen plays a total of eight heretical groups are attacked: the Moors, the Albigenses, the Arians, the Manicheans, the Jews, the pagan Romans, the Lutherans,¹ and astrologers. Generally, only the dead issues are taken up argumentatively, as in El divino africano, where Manicheism is condemned at some length; otherwise, it again appears that Lope preferred to avoid the heat of the issues of his own day: Lutheranism is pointedly condemned as diabolical, but without doctrinal detail.

Other doctrines include the fall of Lucifer, emphasized in fifteen plays, with repeated allusions in El rústico del cielo. Fourteen plays contain Mariology, with La limpieza no manchada as the ultimate example. Twelve plays insist on the immortality of the soul and its immediate passage to its reward at death. Eleven plays contain references to the mediatorial role attributed by Catholics to Mary. In ten plays, the lines recommend the saintly life in an almost sermon-like way. Eight dwell at least briefly on the mystery of the Trinity, seven on the plan of salvation, five on God's mercy and the efficacy of repentance, even at the last minute before death, and four on the identity of the true God. Four plays contain references to a heavenly odor that is detected at the time of the saint's

¹Luteranismo was tantamount to protestantismo, and was the butt of much counter-reformatory attack. A "scientific" dictionary of our day, in Spain, still insists that Luther was a leader in heresy, in its definition of luterano: "Perteneciente o relativo a Lutero, heresiarca alemán de principios del siglo XVI."--Real Academia Española, Diccionario manual e ilustrado de la lengua española (Madrid, 1950). (Italics supplied.)

death.¹ Purgatory, eternal torment, and transubstantiation are other doctrines which are preached. And so the dramatist, with a sort of cosmic confidence, set before the public the final "solutions" to some of life's knottiest metaphysical problems.

As for the heroes of the church, the twenty-five plays studied contain a total of one hundred eight roles for saints. Of these, at least thirty-three may be considered primary roles. The Virgin Mary has a role in nine of the plays; there are roles for Augustine, Dominic, Francis, Gabriel, Isidore, and Joseph in three plays each; and Adam, David, the Magi, Mary de la Cabeza, Peter the Apostle, and Zacharias each appear in two plays. Of the eighty individuals,² seventy-five are saints and five are beati; sixty-two are men, fifteen are women, and three are angels; fourteen were martyred.³ There are sixty-one roles for historical saints, thirty for New Testament saints, fifteen for Old Testament saints, and two for fictional saints.⁴ Thirty-nine of the roles are for patrons, twenty for founders. St. Teresa, St. Isidore, St. Christopher of

¹In Fray Diablo y el diablo predicador, on the other hand, the false friar's identity is betrayed by his smelly feet.

²See Appendix E. Morley and Tyler (pp. 647-648, 697) show only twenty-five santos and five santas because they counted only those names prefixed in the "Personas" of the plays by "San" or "Santa."

³Those whose martyrdom is not mentioned in the play are not counted here as martyrs; in San Segundo, for example, only Secundus is counted as a martyr.

⁴Josaphat and Barlaam--Buddha and his mentor--who were registered among the saints by mistake.

Guardia, and St. John of God were not canonized at the time Lope de Vega wrote plays about them; and Mary de la Cabeza, Antony Neyrot, Peter Geremia, Benedict the Moor, and Simon de Rojas had not even been beatified at the time Lope created roles for them. Brother Francis, the simple lego, has never been officially recognized as worthy of veneration. La niñez de San Isidro and La juventud de Isidro, both exceptional in their two-act length, were written especially for the occasion of Isidore's canonization in 1622; and La vida de San Pedro Nolasco followed that saint's 1628 canonization by only a few months.

The one hundred eight roles for saints represent geographical origins as follows:

Places prominently mentioned in the Bible ¹	43
Spain ²	25
Italy	15
Nicomedia	8
Other Eastern Mediterranean areas ³	6
North Africa	5
France	2
India	2
Portugal	1
Sweden	1

¹Including "the East" (6) and heaven (6).

²Note the suggestion of national pride in the number of Spanish saints, second only to the Biblical ones.

³Antioch, Cappadocia, Dalmatia, Mesopotamia, and Scythia.

It is of interest, in view of the frequent remarks on the absence of mothers from the comedia, that ten (forty per cent) of the plays have characters whose primary role is that of a mother. Among them are St. Anne, St. Mary, St. Monica, and St. Paula.

We turn now to our principal objective in this study: to understand the siglo de oro saint as depicted on the stage. The following qualities are applied to the saints in the plays studied here--in addition, of course, to subscription to the strict Catholic doctrines cited above: abstinence, celibacy, charity, concern for others, courage, courtesy, devotion to Mary, discretion, faith, fasting, hope, humility, innocence, joy at imitating Christ's sufferings (including martyrdom), knowledge of the Bible, ability to perform miracles, obedience, patience, penitence (including mortification of the flesh), piety, poverty, practical sense, prayer (especially simple ones), preaching, purity, resignation, respect for elders, serenity, simplicity, silence, solitude, submission, suffering, temperance, tenderness, thankfulness, truthfulness, virtue, willingness to work, wisdom, and zeal. Mentioned in four or more plays as essential qualities of the saint are celibacy, charity, concern for others, faith, fasting, humility, miracles, obedience, penitence, piety, prayer, purity, work, and zeal. Several of these attributes are especially highlighted. Miracles are mentioned in five plays, especially San Diego de Alcalá, as an essential ingredient in saintliness; and it is noted that in only two plays, El nacimiento de Cristo and La niñez de San Isidro, both atypical because of their brevity, are fewer than four miracles ascribed to the intercessory powers of

the saint. The miracles are, of course, wrought through prayer, which is recommended in at least seven plays. Charity is lauded in eight. Celibacy and concern for others are praised in eleven dramas each. Active effort, or hard work, is urged in thirteen plays--slightly more than half of those studied.¹ With works should go, according to fourteen plays, a deep and abiding faith. The one quality most frequently observed in the saint, and commented on by those around him, in a land of traditionally proud people, is humility. The humble spirit is mentioned in twenty-two of the twenty-five plays, and in sixteen, it is emphasized. *Lesbio* reveals the seriousness of the dramatist's attitude toward humility when he remarks to *Rosambuco*, "Vamos, Santo Negro; que Dios honra quien se humilla."²

The reader will have noted that many of these attributes are abstract. It must be remembered, however, that psychology is shallow in many comedias of the Spanish Golden Age, and particularly where the dramatist was hampered by popular conviction and inquisitorial restrictions. The saint therefore usually makes his way through the comedia de santos, doing and saying a number of little things which reveal the characteristics enumerated above for Lope's saints and often bringing forth superfluous and at times exaggerated compliments from the other members of the cast.

¹One thinks, in this connection, of Galdós' recommendation of hard work. Unamuno's *San Manuel Bueno* is active rather than contemplative, frankly suggesting doing rather than meditating on what has been done.

²*Acad.* IV, 377.

The number of worthy attributes mentioned makes it clear that the saint of the Spanish drama of the Golden Age is such a composite being that he seems scarcely human. He is nearly as much of an abstraction as el Pecado or la Idolatría in an auto sacramental. But he is not without his contradictions. He may be a scholarly doctor of the church, or he may be a thick-skulled lay-brother.¹ He wishes to avoid chopping down a tree or harming an insect because they are part of God's handiwork; yet he approves of the bloody violence of "holy" war as noble service to God. He frequently refers to himself as dust, a worm, a great sinner; yet he declares that worldly humility is vanity. He condemns Plato and Cicero and advocates studying the Bible, but he leans on Aristotle for the nature of the soul. He recommends a life of self-effacement and ^{service} ~~reward~~, with no thought of reward; but he asserts that the solitary life is a sure road to heaven. He urges faith and prayer, but devotes much energy to outward forms such as telling the rosary and attending mass daily, and places a high value upon them.² He agrees with St. Paul that the body is the temple of the Holy Spirit; yet he inflicts weakening fasts and painful scourgings on his body-temple. He works long and hard with a woman who is endeavoring to establish a religious order; but he may

¹Considered a "triste especialidad" of Spain are the "benditísimos y bobalicones legos, que encarnan, mejor que cualquier otra figura, la religiosidad vulgar española."--Montesinos, Barlaán y Josafat, p. 192.

²"Nowhere in the world are the forms of religion so rigidly observed. . . ."--Hay, p. 82.

refuse to look up, lest he be tempted, when one comes for advice. He advocates truthfulness, but he does not hesitate to color or withhold truth when it seems advisable to do so. Perhaps the Spanish, with characteristic realism, do not expect perfection in their saints.

This composite and sometimes contradictory picture is the seventeenth-century Spanish portrait of the saint, the ideal man, the exposition of whose life and death was considered a model of Christian virtue and faith. The saint not only represented the ideal individual life, but also manifested the seventeenth-century Spaniards' opposition to Protestantism, and the preservation of the medieval character in Spain, both inwardly (in the Spanish mental attitude) and outwardly (in architecture, dress, processions, etc.).¹ The comedias de santos, popular and influential in the brilliant and climatic^c siglo de oro--may well have played a part in setting the pattern of medieval thinking still manifest in Spain.

¹The reader is again referred to Ortiz Echagüe's España mística.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

A TENTATIVE LIST OF SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY COMEDIAS DE SANTOS

This appendix attempts to list the comedias de santos by those writers considered first- and second-rate by Hurtado and Palencia.¹ Again, the list is confined to those plays about personages who are at least beati according to The Book of Saints. It is this qualification which eliminates, for example, Cervantes' El rufián dichoso; Fray Cristóbal de Lugo, saintly though he may have been, did not achieve inclusion among the officially registered saints.

The dramatists are arranged according to date of birth. As for the titles, an effort has been made to add to them a remark or two concerning sources, influences, and documentation concerning the saints, without, however, making the appendix unduly long. To help keep it manageable, authorities are cited parenthetically. A key to the short forms used will be found on the following pages.

¹Juan Hurtado y Jiménez de la Serna and Angel González Palencia, Historia de la literatura española, 3a ed. corr. y aum. (Madrid: Tip. de Archivos, 1932), passim.

Key to Authors Cited in Appendix A¹

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edición de la Real Academia
Española (Madrid, 1890-1913).
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2a ed. (Barcelona, 1941).
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- La Barrera C. A. de la Barrera y Leirado,
Catálogo bibliográfico y
biográfico del teatro antiguo
español (Madrid, 1860).
- BkSts The Book of Saints, 4th ed. rev.
& enl., compiled by the monks of
St. Augustine's Abbey, Ramsgate
(New York, 1947).
- Catálogo de la Exposición
Bibliográfica de Lope de
Vega Intro. by M. Artigas (Madrid, 1935).
- Cotarelo, "Catálogo" Cotarelo y Mori, "Catálogo descriptivo
de la gran colección de comedias
escogidas que consta de cuarenta y
ocho volúmenes, impresos de 1652 a
1704," Boletín de la Real Academia
Española, XVIII (1931) and XIX (1932).
- Cotarelo, "Ensayo" Cotarelo y Mori, "Ensayo sobre la vida
y obras de don Pedro Calderón de la
Barca," Boletín de la Real Academia
Española, VIII-X (1921-1923).
- Cotarelo, "Mira de Amescua" Cotarelo y Mori, "Mira de Amescua y
su teatro," Boletín de la Real
Academia Española, XVII and XVIII
(1930 and 1931).

¹More complete information may be found in the bibliography section of this paper.

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- Morley and Bruerton S. G. Morley and C. Bruerton, The Chronology of Lope de Vega's Comedias (New York, 1940).
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- Peregrino 1 and 2 Lists of plays included in Lope's El peregrino en su patria, 1604 and 1618, respectively.
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- Reynier G. Reynier, "Le drame religieux en Espagne," Revue de Paris, 7^e année (1900), tome 2.
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- Silva R. Silva, "The Religious Drama of Calderón," Spanish Golden Age Poetry and Drama, ed. E. A. Peers ("Liverpool Studies in Spanish Literature," second series, 1946).
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Lope de Vega (1562-1635)

1. Authentic Plays¹

Barlaán y Josafat.

*La bienaventurada madre Teresa de Jesús, fundadora del Carmen.

El capellán de la Virgen, San Ildefonso.

El cardenal de Belén.

*La devoción del Rosario.

El divino africano, San Agustín.

*La gran columna fogosa, San Basilio Magno.

Juan de Dios y Antón Martín.

La juventud de San Isidro.

La limpieza no manchada.

¹According to Morley and Bruerton. Plays they list as doubtful but for which they place the burden of proof on the questioner are marked with an asterisk. Details as to date, the biography of the saint, etc., may be found in Chapter VI.

Los locos por el cielo.

Lo fingido verdadero.

La madre de la mejor.

*El nacimiento de Cristo.

La niñez del Padre Rojas.

La niñez de San Isidro.

El niño inocente de La Guardia.

El rústico del cielo.

San Diego de Alcalá.

San Isidro, labrador de Madrid.

San Nicolás de Tolentino.

San Segundo.

El santo negro Rosambuco de la ciudad de Palermo.

El serafín humano, San Francisco.

La vida de San Pedro Nolasco.

2. Lope de Vega: Comedias de Santos of Doubtful Authenticity¹

La adúltera penitente. Morley and Bruerton say they don't know why this play was ever ascribed to Lope; they consider it a recast of Púsoseme el sol, salióme la luna (p. 250). See La adúltera penitente under Matos Frago. St. Theodora Penitent is listed in BkSta, p. 563.

El animal profeta y dichoso patricida, San Julián. Menéndez y Pelayo states his belief (Acad. IV, ciii) that the play is Lope's, though it may have been recast by Mira de Amescua (see this title under him). The legend is that Julian killed his parents in error; in penance, he and his wife went to Rome to secure absolution, and on their way home built a hospital near a river.

¹According to Morley and Bruerton, passim.

Here they cared for the poor and sick and rowed travelers across the river. "Probably the whole story is fictitious." (BkSts, p. 349.)

La corona derribada y vara de Moisés. Menéndez y Pelayo gives solid reasons (Acad. III, lxxiv) for doubting that this play is Lope's. Among the characters are two saints: Moses (BkSts, p. 431) and Aaron (BkSts, p. 1).

La creación del mundo y primera culpa del hombre. This play is based on the first four chapters of Genesis. See Appendices B and C for several earlier dramatic works which may have served as inspiration for this work. The following characters are saints: Michael the archangel (BkSts, p. 424), Adam and Eve (BkSts, p. 8), and Abel (BkSts, p. 2). St. Abel is invoked in the litany for the dying, and there is a reference to him in the canon of the mass.

David perseguido y montes de Gelboé. Menéndez y Pelayo declares that the play, as it stands, belongs neither to Lope nor to his time. It is about David's youth, his persecution by Saul, the story of Abigail, and the death of Jonathan. (Acad. III, lxxv.) King David is listed in BkSts, p. 168.

La fortuna adversa del Infante don Fernando de Portugal. Bl. Ferdinand of Portugal patiently suffered imprisonment and death at the hands of the Moors. He died in 1443 and was beatified in 1470. (BkSts, p. 231.) Calderón's El príncipe constante also deals with his martyrdom.

El leon apostólico y cautivo coronado. Of doubtful authenticity and inaccessible.

Los mártires de Madrid. Menéndez y Pelayo (Acad. V, xxxi) declares this play distinct from Mira de Amescua's El mártir de Madrid and from Dejar un reino por otro y mártires de Madrid, often attributed to Moreto, Cáncer, and Villaviciosa (Miss Kennedy disagrees). Menéndez y Pelayo was unable to find the historical foundation of the work, and the present writer has been unable to trace any of the names of the characters in BkSts.

La mayor corona. This play does not appear in the Peregrino lists--unless it be under the title of El godo ilustre (1618). (Cotarelo, N. Acad. II, x.) The play is about St. Hermengild, who was martyred for his faith in 585. (BkSts, p. 289.) The Holy Trinity appears at the end of the play--the Father with the crucified Son in his arms, and the Holy Spirit as a dove.

La mayor dicha en el monte y la gloria del martirio. Cotarelo believes (N. Acad. II, x) that Lope had no part in this work. It deals with the life and martyrdom of St. Eustace, his wife, St. Theopistes,

and their two sons, Sts. Agapitus and Theopistus, who were slain under Hadrian. (BkSts, pp. 215-216.)

El mayor prodigio o el purgatorio en la vida. This play may underlie Calderón's El purgatorio de San Patricio. St. Patrick is found on p. 460 of BkSts.

El mayor rey de los reyes. This play deals with the Magi after their visit to the Holy Land; divine intervention was necessary, according to the legend, for them to be restored to their earlier positions. Sts. Balthasar, Caspar, and Melchior are found on pp. 385-386 of BkSts.

La mejor enamorada, la Magdalena. Cotarelo (N. Acad. II, xi) says the play, as it stands, cannot be Lope's. St. Mary Magdalen is found on page 406 of BkSts. She is normally identified as the sister of two other saints represented in the play: St. Martha (BkSts, p. 401) and St. Lazarus (BkSts, p. 364). Christ also has a role.

El milagro por los celos y don Alvaro de Luna. Menéndez y Pelayo (Acad. X, c) mentions the "semejanza, que llega a ser identidad" with Tirso's Doña Beatriz de Silva, sometimes listed as Favorecer a todos y amar a ninguno. Blanca de los Ríos points out that Tirso could easily have written his play first, since in either case the work was probably prepared to commemorate certain observances held by the concepcionistas in 1618. She concludes, ". . . A mi parecer la comedia atribuida a Lope, i.e., El milagro por los celos, no es sino una mala reproducción de la de Tirso. . . ." (II, 865.) It may be wondered whether she is on solid ground in so quickly dismissing La Barrera's entry (p. 103) of this play under the name of Cortés de Arellano. Furthermore, in a rapid comparison the present writer failed to see the identity mentioned by Menéndez y Pelayo, unless it is merely a similarity of basic plot. The language is substantially different, and in places the Milagro por los celos bears extravagances--endless monologues, extended comparisons, monotonous repetitions for effect--that would suggest a lesser figure of the Calderonian school. The appearance of the Virgin in Act III is vastly different. BkSts tells us (p. 94) that Beatrix (Brites) da Silva was beatified in 1926.

El nacimiento de Christo Nuestro Señor, con la Buelta de Egipto. This play is different from the Nacimiento de Cristo printed in Acad. III.

El nacimiento del alba. Morley and Bruerton tell us (p. 317) that this work consists of Acts I and II of La madre de la mejor, with the auto sacramental entitled La concepción de Nuestra Señora used as Act III.

El negro del mejor amo. García Soriano informs us (N. Acad. XI, xii) that this play is different from that published by Mira de Amescua under the same title, and that it is also different from Lope's Santo negro Rosambuco. But the story is evidently an invention; both García Soriano and the present writer have been unable to find Antiobo de Cerdeña in the list of saints.

La Orden de la Redención y Virgen de los Remedios. The play is about St. Peter Nolasco, but it is generally agreed that it is not from Lope's pen. See this title under Calderón.

Los primeros mártires del Japon. Menéndez y Pelayo (Acad. V, li), leaning on passages similar to portions of Barlaán y Josafat, feels certain that Lope wrote this play. The first group of Japanese martyrs, twenty-eight persons, was crucified near Nagasaki in 1597. Others were martyred between 1614 and 1644. See BkSts, p. 317.

El prodigio de Etiopia. Though La Barrera and others have thought that this is the same as Santa Teodora, Menéndez y Pelayo (Acad. IV, lxii) does not, on the grounds that Teodora never achieves sainthood in this play. The prodigio "no es ella, sino un negro prodigioso," St. Moses the Black (BkSts, p. 431). Menéndez y Pelayo observes (Acad. IV, lxxvii) that immediately below the account of St. Moses in the Ribadeneyra Flos Sanctorum appeared that of St. Theodora Penitent (BkSts, p. 563), and suggests that the dramatist chose a few details from her unrelated story, including her name. Why he changed Moses' name to Filipo is not clear. This play may have been part of the inspiration for La adúltera penitente, by Matos, Moreto, and Cáncer.

Púsoseme el sol, salióme la luna. St. Theodora is the protagonist of this play, also. Though he cites Menéndez y Pelayo's earlier opinion that the play was written by Claramonte, González Palencia (N. Acad. IX, ix) ventures not only to ascribe it to Lope, but to call it "una de las más bellas del coloso." St. Theodora, the Virgin, the Sun, and the Moon have speaking roles. Again, the play is related to La adúltera penitente.

El saber por no saber, San Julián de Alcalá de Henares. Menéndez y Pelayo (Acad. V, xxxiii) asserts that Lope knew the Bl. Julian of St. Augustine personally. After being twice rejected, Julian was finally admitted to the Dominican Order as a lay-brother. Later, he accompanied the Franciscans on their missions and rang the bell through the streets to announce the sermons. (BkSts, p. 350.) Cf. Vélez de Guevara's El lego de Alcalá.

Santa Casilda. Cotarelo feels secure in his belief that Lope wrote this play (N. Acad. II, xiv). González Ruiz has commented on the differences between it and Tirso's Los lagos de San Vicente (Teatro teológico, II, xxxvi). St. Casilda, who died about 1050, is "greatly venerated throughout Spain, chiefly in the provinces of Burgos and Toledo" (BkSts, p. 129).

Santo Angelo. Rennert-Castro (p. 516) and Cotarelo (N. Acad. I, x) think Santo Angelo (Peregrino list 1) and San Angel Carmelita (Peregrino list 2) are the same play. Morley and Bruerton (p. 339) suggest that San Andrés Carmelita may be a misprint, though both St. Angelus (BkSts, p. 53) and St. Andrew Corsini (BkSts, p. 47) were Carmelites. San Angelo is the only saint listed among the characters; but Nuestra Señora and two angels descend for a chat in Act I, and Act II opens with a discussion between San Francisco and San Domingo, later joined by Christ and Mary "con rayos de fuego."

Los Terceros de San Francisco. The play is about St. Elizabeth of Hungary (BkSts, p. 196). St. Francis, St. Louis, and an angel also appear. Montalbán is supposed to have written Act II and part of Act III. Cf. Rojas Zorrilla's Santa Isabel, reina de Ungría.

El truhan del cielo y loco santo. Menéndez y Pelayo declares (Acad. V, iv) that had he had the play in time, he would have placed it after El serafín humano, though certain repetitions make it clear that El truhan del cielo was not meant to be a continuation. "El verdadero protagonista . . . es Fray Junípero, cuyas sublimes insensateces y santas simplezas se dramatizan aquí. . . ." San Francisco, Nuestra Señora, el Niño Jesús, and San Antonio de Padua are among the characters.

El vaso de elección, San Pablo. Menéndez y Pelayo sees marks of carelessness and of culteranismo that make it difficult to ascribe the play to Lope (Acad. III, lxix). Other saints in the play include Peter, John, Andrew, Stephen, Gamaliel, Ananias, Barnabas, and Mary Magdalene. BkSts says of Paul, "Liturgically he is honoured with St. Peter, on June 29, as the co-founder of the Roman church. . . ." (p. 463)

La vida y muerte del glorioso y bienaventurado padre San Francisco. Morley and Bruerton, p. 355: "In all probability written about 1580 by a minor dramatist." It is distinct from El serafín humano.

La vida y muerte de Santa Teresa de Jesús. This is not the same play as that studied in Chapter VI.

3. Other Titles Attributed to Lope¹

La Bárbara del cielo. See details on St. Barbara (BkSts, p. 86) under Guillem de Castro, El prodigio de los montes.

La Bohemia convertida, or El hijo piadoso.

El caballero del milagro, or El arrogante español.

Fray Martín de Valencia. This person does not appear in BkSts, but he may well have been a saint in the minds of the people.

La gloria de Nápoles. Is this play related to Rojas Zorrilla's La segunda Magdalena, la sirena de Nápoles? See remarks under the latter title.

La gloria de San Francisco. This play has been lost, according to Morley and Bruerton (p. 348).

El hermano Francisco. Might this not be an alternate title for El rústico del cielo?

Las lágrimas de David, y rey más arrepentido. Unlike David perseguido, this play is about the sin and repentance of David. In some editions it is attributed to Felipe Godínez (Menéndez y Pelayo, Acad. III, lxxv).

La libertad de San Isidro. This title appears only in Gómez de la Serna; surely it is an error for La juventud de San Isidro.

El mártir de Florencia.

Nuestra Señora de la Peña de Francia. It is generally agreed (Menéndez y Pelayo, Acad. V, lvii; Morley-Bruerton, p. 339) that this is a variant of Tirso's La Peña de Francia--which is not really a comedia de santos.

Los nuevos mártires de Argel.

El platero del cielo.

El primer cristiano.

La salida de Egipto. Is this the same as El nacimiento de Christo Nuestro Señor con la Buelta de Egipto?

¹These are titles of plays which may have been comedias de santos. They are taken from Astrana Marín (pp. 477-489) and Gómez de la Serna (pp. 113-132). The saints are identified where it is possible to do so.

San Adrián y Santa Natalia. St. Adrian, an officer of Nicomedia, was imprisoned for befriending Christian captives. His wife, St. Natalia, cared for him and the others until they were martyred. (BkSts, pp. 11-12.) This play may have inspired Matos Fragoso's Los dos prodigios de Roma.

San Andrés, carmelita. See Santo Angelo, preceding section.

San Antonio de Padua. This St. Antony is found on p. 62 of BkSts.

San Jorge. St. George the Great died about 300, a martyr under Diocletian. "All the other legends which have grown up around his name may safely be regarded as fictitious, including the story of the dragon. . . . He is venerated . . . universally as the model of knighthood and avenger of women. He is the acknowledged patron saint of England, Aragon, Portugal and Germany, also of Genoa and Venice, and protector of Ferrara." (BkSts, p. 259.)

San Josafat, el prodigio de la India. The alternate title of Barlaán y Josafat is usually given as Los dos soldados de Cristo; are there, then, two plays?

San Julián de Cuenca. St. Julian was appointed Bishop of Cuenca when that city, under Alfonso IX, was taken from the Moors. In his longing to help the poor, he spent all his spare time earning money for them by the work of his hands. (BkSts, p. 349.)

San Martín. BkSts lists several Martins (pp. 402-403). The most prominent is St. Martin of Tours (c. 316-397). The episodes of his sharing his cloak with the poor beggar and the heavenly vision leading to his baptism have become famous.

San Roque. St. Roch, a native of Montpellier who died in 1337, devoted his life to serving the plague-stricken. He is invoked as a protector against pestilence. (BkSts, pp. 512-513.)

San Tirso de España. Father Doce of the Catholic student center at the University of Florida said that he believed San Tirso was the same as San Telmo. Telmo is another name for St. Peter González (1190-1246), who served as confessor and court chaplain for King St. Ferdinand of Castile. He fostered the crusade against the Moors, but did much to obtain kindly treatment for Moorish captives. He also worked among the peasants and sailors of Galicia. (BkSts, p. 472.)

Santa Polonia.

Santa Teodora. See remarks under El prodigio de Etiopía, preceding section.

Santa Ursula y las once mil virgenes. Ursula was one of a group of maidens martyred at Cologne. BkSts (p. 587) suggests that medieval legends greatly embellished the scanty facts, probably changing the number from XI MM VV (eleven martyr-virgins) to XI M VV (11,000 virgins). Pope Benedict XIV intended to delete their entry from the Roman Martyrology, and the Benedictines have suppressed the feast in their calendar.

El santo de Valencia. Another title for El mártir de Valencia?
Or possibly for Fray Martín de Valencia?

Santo Tomás de Aquino. St. Thomas, "the angelic doctor," died in 1274, was canonized in 1323, and was declared a doctor of the Church in 1567. In 1880 he was declared patron saint of Catholic universities and centers of study. He is "the acknowledged prince of Catholic theologians." (BkSts, p. 571.)

Los trabajos de Job. Morley and Bruerton do not list this title; Menéndez y Pelayo (Acad. III, lxxix) suggests that either the play is lost, or this title is an error for Los trabajos de Jacob. Job is a saint (BkSts, p. 320) but Jacob is not.

4. Lope de Vega: Autos sacramentales¹

Los acreedores del hombre.

La adúltera perdonada. Listed in the Catálogo also.

Las albricias de Nuestra Señora. Also listed in the Catálogo.

La Araucana.

Auto sacramental de los ingenios y esclavos del Santísimo Sacramento.

El Ave María y Rosario de Nuestra Señora. Listed in the Catálogo also.

Las aventuras del hombre.

El bautismo de Cristo.

Las bodas del alma y el amor divino.

¹Lope's autos sacramentales are listed in the hope that their titles will prove useful should further questions arise; it will be noted that some of them could be mistaken for comedias de santos. These titles, unless otherwise indicated, appear in Gómez de la Serna, pp. 133-134. "Catálogo" here refers to the Catálogo de la Exposición Bibliográfica de Lope de Vega.

Los Cantares.

La cárcel de amor.

La circuncisión y sangría de Cristo nuestro bien. Also in the Catálogo.

La concepción de Nuestra Señora.

La coronacion de la humanidad de Cristo.

El corsario del alma y las galeras.

El divino pastor. Listed in the Catálogo also.

Las hazañas del segundo David.

El heredero del cielo.

El hijo de la iglesia. Listed in the Catálogo also.

El hijo pródigo.

Los hijos de María del Rosario. The Catálogo calls this Auto del Rosario: los hijos de María.

La huida a Egipto y destierro de Jesús. Listed, with a question, in the Catálogo only.

La isla del sol.

La locura por la honra.

La Margarita preciosa. Listed also in the Catálogo.

La Maya.

El Misacantano.

El nacimiento de nuestro Salvador Jesucristo. Listed also in the Catálogo.

La natividad de Nuestra Señora.

El Niño Pastor (variation for El divino pastor).

El nombre de Jesús.

El nuevo oriente del sol y más dichoso portal.

Obras son amores.

La oveja perdida.

El pan y el palo.

El pastor ingrato.

El pastor lobo y cabaña celestial.

La puente del mundo.

El Príncipe de la paz.

Las prisiones de Adán. Listed in the Catálogo only.

La privanza del hombre.

La santa Inquisición.

La siega.

El triunfo de la iglesia. Listed in the Catálogo also.

El tirano castigado. Listed in the Catálogo also.

El tusón del rey del cielo. Listed in the Catálogo also.

La Venta de la Zarzuela.

El viaje del alma.

El villano despojado.

La vuelta de Egipto. Also listed in the Catálogo.

El yugo de Cristo.

5. Lope de Vega: Plays with Minor Roles for Saints¹

Angélica en el Catay. (Acad. XIII.) Bl. Charlemagne has a small part.

El Anticristo. (Acad. III.) Elijah, patron saint of the Carmelite Order (BkSts, p. 195), has a small role. But Menéndez y Pelayo says (Acad. III, lxxix): "Si este nuevo Anticristo es de Lope, habrá que decir que dormitó en él más que en ninguna otra ocasión de su vida."

¹No claim is made that this list is complete. The volume where the play may be found is located parenthetically.

Bernardo del Carpio (N. Acad. III). Bl. Charlemagne has a small part in Act III.

La buena guarda o la encomienda bien guardada (Acad. V). The Virgin's voice is heard directing an angel to replace Clara; the legend is that of Soeur Beatrice.

El casamiento en la muerte (Acad. VII). Bl. Charlemagne appears.

La divina vencedora (N. Acad. IV). King St. Ferdinand has a role in this play. The title refers to the Virgin, to whose power victory is ascribed; but she neither appears nor speaks.

Las dos bandoleras y fundación de la Santa Hermandad de Toledo (Acad. IX). There is a minor role for King St. Ferdinand.

El esclavo de Venecia y amante de su hermana (N. Acad. V). The Virgin in Act II directs the building of a convent in Venice, to be known as that of the Virgen de la Esperanza.

El galán de la Membrilla (Acad. IX). King St. Ferdinand appears in Acts II and III.

Guerras de amor y de honor (N. Acad. VI). King St. Ferdinand has a rather substantial role, but the play is about a genealogical legend concerning the House of Córdoba, located by anachronism in his time (Cotarelo, N. Acad. VI, xii).

El hijo por engaño (Acad. VIII). Nuestra Señora and San Bernardo appear. She speaks briefly, exhorting Alfonso of León to take Toledo from the Moors. St. Bernard drinks milk through "un caño de leche, que va desde el pecho de Nuestra Señora hasta la boca del Santo. . . ."

El Marqués de Mantua (Acad. XIII). The play is based on three romances. Bl. Charlemagne has a small part.

La mocedad de Roldán (Acad. XIII). Bl. Charlemagne has a minor role.

Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria y sus milagros y guanches de Tenerife (Aguilar III). An image of the Virgin, with her Child, performs miracles.

Un pastoral albergue (Acad. XIII). This play, which was probably not written by Lope, contains a fair role for Bl. Charlemagne.

Las pobreza de Reinaldos (Acad. XIII). There is a substantial role, though not a primary one--the play can by no means be called a comedia de santos--for Bl. Charlemagne.

El primer rey de Castilla (Acad. VIII). San Isidro materializes to direct the finding of his remains.

El sol parado (Acad. IX). King St. Ferdinand is among the characters.

Ursón y Valentín (Acad. XIII). Menéndez y Pelayo (Acad. XIII, cxxxv) mentions that the penitence and death of Valentine remind us of the legend of St. Alexis. BkSts (p. 588) lists several Valentines, but with so few details that no connection can be made.

El valor de Malta (Acad. XII). Nuestra Señora appears in Act II to promise her help for Antonio Ponce.

6. Lope de Vega: Deceptive Titles¹

El caballero del Sacramento (Acad. VIII). This is a leyenda piadosa, but there are no saints.

El casamiento por Cristo (N. Acad. II). This play has been related to a missing Santa Justa, but Cotarelo (N. Acad. II, vi) observes that the use of the name Justa in El casamiento por Cristo is evidently coincidence. BkSts shows no Justa who is not a martyr, and makes no mention of marriage.

La divina vencedora (N. Acad. IV). See this title in the preceding section of this appendix.

La fianza satisfecha (Acad. V). This play presents a serious theological problem, but there are no saints.

Fray Diablo, y el diablo predicador (N. Acad. II). The devil impersonates a friar. There are no saints.

La hermosa Ester (Acad. III). Queen Esther's willingness to sacrifice herself for her people did not win for her the title of "saint."

La historia de Tobías (Acad. III). No saints are among the characters.

El robo de Dina (Acad. III). There are no saints in the play.

Los trabajos de Jacob, or Sueños hay que verdad son (Acad. III). There are no saints among the characters.

¹This is a rather subjective category, and the reader may feel that some titles have been omitted.

Guillem de Castro y Bellví (1569-1631)¹

La degollación de San Juan Bautista. The martyrdom of John under Herod is commemorated August 29 (BkSts, p. 331).

Las maravillas de Babilonia. This play probably includes Daniel (BkSts, p. 166) and possibly the three Hebrew youths cast into the fiery furnace (Sts. Ananias, Azarias, and Misael--BkSts, p. 43).

El mejor esposo San José. Or: El tránsito de San José. March 19 is the feast of the Transitus of the foster-father of Christ (BkSta, p. 344).

El prodigio de los montes y Mártir del cielo, Santa Bárbara. La Barrera (p. 83) wonders whether this is the La Bárbara del cielo of Lope's Peregrino list. "One of the most popular saints of the Calendar. According to the extant legend, first told by Metaphrastes in the tenth century, she was shut up in a tower by her father, who himself killed her for being a Christian, whereupon he was struck dead by lightning. . . . But the whole legend is obviously spurious, and some doubt whether she ever existed. She is the patron saint of firework makers, artillerymen, architects, founders, stonemasons, grave-diggers, fortifications, magazines, and a protectress against lightning, fire, sudden death and impenitence" (BkSts, p. 86).

¹The plays under Guillem de Castro are listed in La Barrera (pp. 80-83) and by Mesonero Romanos in his "Apuntes biográficos y críticos" (BAE XLIII, xxvii-xix).

Luis Vélez de Guevara (c. 1570-1644)¹

1. Comedias de Santos

La Creación del mundo. There is little dramatic unity in this play; it is a narrative based on the first four chapters of Genesis. No proof can be given that it was drawn from Lope's La creación del mundo y primera culpa del hombre (Spencer & Schevill, pp. 264-265). Adam, Eve, and Abel are saints (BkSts, pp. 2,8.) Another character, Enoch is not--in spite of God's having seen fit to translate him (Gen. 5:24).

El lego de Alcalá. The play is about Fray Julián de San Agustín. This Dominican lay-brother accompanied the Franciscan preachers on their missions and rang the bell through the streets, announcing the sermon. He was beatified in 1825 (BkSts, p. 350).

El negro del Serafín. Spencer and Schevill, naming Lope's El Santo negro Rosambuco de la ciudad de Palermo, say (p. 288), "Vélez" play is a revision of Lope's, is more compactly constructed, but more extravagant. (Cf. remarks under El negro del mejor amo, of Mira de Amescua.)

La Rosa alejandrina. Santa Catalina is St. Catherine of Alexandria (BkSts, p. 133). Christ Himself appears, to welcome the martyred Catalina as His bride. Miracles, apparitions, visions, and theatrical effects are so many that the play degenerates into a farce (Spencer and Schevill, p. 291).

Los tres portentos de Dios, y príncipe de la Iglesia. The subject is the life of St. Paul. Two of the portentos are St. Mary Magdalene and St. Dismas (the good thief); a heavenly voice urges Saul of Tarsus to be the third. The work is lacking in unity and plot, and is "in reality a comedia de ruido of the most spectacular kind" (Spencer and Schevill, p. 299).

2. Doubtful Works

La cristianísima Lis, y azote de la herejía. La Barrera; not mentioned in Spencer and Schevill. Could it be similar to Mira de Amescua's Las lises de Francia? St. Clotilde, who figures in the latter play, converted her husband, Clovis, king of the Salian Franks (BkSts, p. 146).

¹All titles are taken from Spencer and Schevill unless otherwise designated. "La Barrera" indicates titles found there only (pp. 463-468).

La Magdalena. "Listed by La Barrera (Cat., p. 561a), but it has not been identified" (Spencer and Schevill, p. 299).

El más amante pastor y dichoso patriarca. La Barrera; not mentioned in Spencer and Schevill.

El milagro imposible, Santa Rita de Casia. Margarita of Cascia died in 1457, was canonized in 1900. "In Spanish-speaking countries she is surnamed La Abogada de Imposibles, the saint of desperate cases" (BkSts, p. 510). Spencer and Schevill (pp. 381-382) consider it very doubtful that Vélez wrote the play.

Nuestra Señora de la Inclusa. La Barrera; not mentioned in Spencer and Schevill. Might it be a variant title for the auto entitled La abadesa del cielo? (Cf. remarks under the latter title, below.)

3. Deceptive Titles

La abadesa del cielo. This work is called an auto sacramental by Spencer and Schevill, though their summary (p. 305) reveals nothing about the Eucharist. Continuing their discussion of the one-act drama, Spencer and Schevill say, "The story outlined above is, in the main, the legend of Sister Beatrice, the nun who, having left the convent with her lover, finds, to her great surprise on her return, that, during her absence, the Virgin, grateful for the tender devotion she has always shown her, has assumed her appearance and fulfilled her duties, so that no one has been aware of her flight."¹ Lope treated the same theme in La buena guarda or La encomienda bien guardada.

Atila, azote de Dios, o La silla de San Pedro. The play deals with a hermit, Anselm, not found in BkSts. There are brief appearances by Sts. Peter and Paul, who bid Attila not to harm Rome (Spencer and Schevill, p. 157).

La conquista de Orán, o El gran cardenal de España. This work is about Jiménez de Cisneros, who is not listed in BkSts. Spencer and Schevill consider the play histórico-novelesca rather than divina.

De la hermosura de Raquel, primera parte. Isaac, Jacob, Esau, Rachel, and others are among the characters, but there are no saints.

De la hermosura de Raquel, segunda parte. This one is about Joseph and his brothers. Joseph is one of the few Bible characters for whom no sin is recorded, but he has not arrived at sainthood.

¹A sentence with that many commas merits preservation.

Santa Susana, o Los viejos de Susana. The Susanna of the apocryphal portion of Daniel is not listed in BkSts. Spencer and Schevill (p. 112) call it "a mediocre play, loosely constructed, full of needless digressions." It deals with Susanna, Nebuchadnezzar's dream (probably Daniel is in the play), and the three Hebrew youths (they are also saints), who are cast into the furnace and left, nothing being said of their fate. Guillem de Castro's Las maravillas de Babilonia may have been a source; and El bruto de Babilonia, by Matos, Moreto, and Cáncer, is a "manifest recast" (Spencer and Schevill, p. 113).

De la devoción de la misa. An angel substitutes for Valerio, who leaves the battlefield to attend mass. There are no saints.

4. Plays with Minor Roles for Saints

El cerco de Roma por el rey Desiderio. Leoncio, a cardinal, struggles with Charlemagne and Bernardo del Carpio against Desiderio, last king of the Lombards. St. Peter puts in an appearance; Leoncio becomes Pope St. Leo III (BkSts, p. 365); and the pope in 800 crowned the Blessed Charlemagne (BkSts, p. 137) Holy Roman Emperor. See Spencer and Schevill, pp. 164-166.

La Corte del demonio. This play deals with the love of Nino, king of Nineveh, for his mother, Semíramis; Lucifer's attempt, as prince of Tartary, to make Nineveh the devil's court; and Jonah's successful effort to lead the city to repent. Jonah is a saint (BkSts, p. 342).

Juliano Apóstata. Spencer and Schevill consider this play histórico-novelesca, in spite of St. Basil's (BkSts, pp. 90-91) having a rather prominent role. St. Mercurius (BkSts, p. 422) and St. Michael (BkSts, p. 424) also appear. Cited as a source is a chapter from Pero Mexía's Historia imperial y Cesárea (Spencer Schevill, pp. 185-186).

Del primer Conde de Orgaz y Servicio bien pagado. St. Stephen and St. Augustine perform at least two miracles in the play, possibly inspired by El Greco's painting of the burial of don Gonzalo de Toledo (Spencer and Schevill, p. 218).

Las tres edades del mundo. St. Michael, St. Matthew, and St. Luke appear in this work, along with many allegorical characters. Spencer and Schevill (p. 296) find that it is weakened by the stress laid on Mariology and by the anachronisms.

Antonio Mira de Amescua (c. 1578-c. 1640)

1. Comedias de Santos

El animal profeta, San Julián, or: El dichoso patricida. La Barrera; BAE.¹ Cotarelo ("Mira de Amescua," XVIII, 83) states his agreement with Menéndez y Pelayo that this is more likely Lope's than Mira's. "The legend, very popular in the Middle Ages, runs as follows: Julian in error slew his own parents; in penance he and his wife went to Rome to obtain absolution and, on their return home, built a hospital by the side of a river, where they tended the poor and the sick and rowed travelers across the river. . . . Probably the whole story is fictitious. This St. Julian is often confused with other saints of the same name. . . ." (BkSts, p. 349.)

El Arpa de David. BAE. Cotarelo ("Mira de Amescua," XVII, 621-622) tells us that the manuscript offers few indications of Mira's authorship, and that the play is a primitive, almost plotless succession of events in the life of David. St. David is found in BkSts, p. 158.

Los carboneros de Francia. Cotarelo ("Catálogo," XVIII, 815) shows that Charlemagne (a beatus, according to BkSts, p. 137) is listed first among the characters. Inaccessibility of the play leaves us to wonder how important his role is.

El clavo de Joel. BAE. BkSts lists two Joels, one who died in 1185, and the other the Old Testament prophet (p. 320).

El esclavo del demonio. La Barrera; BAE. Cotarelo ("Mira de Amescua," XVII, 622) tells us that the subject could have been taken from the Villegas Flos Sanctorum (Toledo, 1591, or Madrid, 1594), "porque en las anteriores no figura la vida de San Gil de Santarem. . . ." But we learn from BkSts (p. 267) that Giles of Santarem, a native of Vaozela, in Portugal, has been beatified but never canonized.

Las lises de Francia. San Martín and an angel appear briefly. " . . . Es una de las comedias más flojas de su autor. Quizá por eso nunca fue reimpresa (Cotarelo, "Mira de Amescua," XVIII, 16). Characters include Clodobeo and Crotilda; could the play be about St. Clodoaldus (Saint-Cloud in French; BkSts, p. 146), grandson of Clovis and of St. Clotilde (Ibid.), who died by St. Martin's tomb in 545?

¹"La Barrera" here indicates pp. 255-260; "BAE" means the "Catálogo" in XLV, li (ed. Mesonero Romanos).

La mayor soberbia de Nabucodonosor. BAE. It is assumed that St. Daniel (BkSts, p. 166) is among the characters.

La mesonera del cielo. BAE. La Barrera questions that Mira wrote this play. Cotarelo ("Mira de Amescua," XVIII, 31) asserts that the work is often confused with Zabaleta's El hermitaño galán, which,, "aunque tiene el mismo asunto, es en el fondo y en la forma obra distinta de la de Mira." BkSts (p. 3) outlines some of the details, as Cotarelo gives them, of St. Abraham Kidunaia and his niece; but declares that "the episodes connected with his niece Mary are now considered spurious." Cotarelo mentions similar plays by Rojas Zorrilla and Fernando de Zárate. "Es muy semejante a la de Santa María Egipciaca (La gitana de Menfis), de Montalbán; a la de Santa Pelagia, de Zárate, y bastante afín de las del grupo de Santa Teodora; La Magdalena de Napoles, de Rojas; Quien no cae no se levanta, de Tirso, etc."

El negro del mejor amo. La Barrera; BAE. Cotarelo ("Mira de Amescua," XVIII, 84) believes the play is El negro del Serafín, of Vélez de Guevara; Vélez is mentioned as author in the last quatrain, and the date of censorship is 1643, a decade after Mira de Amescua had retired to Guadix. Like Lope's El santo negro Rosambuco, the play is about St. Benedict of Palermo (BkSts, p. 96).

Los prodigios de la vara y conquista de Israel. BAE. From Cotarelo ("Mira de Amescua," XVIII, 55-57), we learn that Moses (BkSts, p. 431) and Aaron (BkSts, p. 1), as well as an angel, are among the characters.

San Ramón. La Barrera. Cotarelo ("Mira de Amescua," XVIII, 60) lists this play as El santo sin nacer, y mártir sin morir. It is an embellished version of the adventures of St. Raymond Nonnatus (BkSts, p. 304), successor of St. Peter Nolasco as master general of the Mercedarian Order, founded for ransoming Christian captives. Among the characters of the piece are angels, la Obediencia, Peter Nolasco, la Virgen de las Mercedes, and Christ.

La vida y muerte de San Lázaro. La Barrera. BAE gives it as El rico avariento, San Lázaro. The play deals with the poor man of Christ's parable (Luke 16). He is a saint (BkSts, pp. 363-364). Cotarelo ("Mira de Amescua," XVIII, 67-68) terms it "una obra muy pesada," calling Tirso's work on the same subject (Tanto es lo de más como lo de menos) "infinitamente mejor."

2. Deceptive Titles

La adúltera virtuosa, Santa María Egipciaca. La Barrera; BAE. But Cotarelo ("Mira de Amescua," XVII, 613) makes this protest: "Barrera le dió el segundo título de Santa María Egipciaca, en

lo cual hay evidente error, porque esta santa no fué casada y, por tanto, no pudo ser acusada de cometer adulterio, como lo es la reina de Nápoles de la comedia." Cotarelo's summary of the play reveals nothing saintly about anybody.

El amparo de los hombres. La Barrera; BAE. The play is about pacts with the devil; it is similar to the Faust legend and to the author's own play El esclavo del demonio. Federico signs a pact in order to win Julia, who loves Carlos. Carlos, to avoid losing her, starts to sign a pact, but balks at renouncing the Virgin. The devil flees amid fire and noise, and Carlos addresses a petition for forgiveness to the Candelaria image of the Virgin, with the Holy Child in her arms. The Child refuses, but St. Mary places Him on the altar and kneeling before Him, receives pardon for Carlos (Cotarelo, "Mira de Amescua," XVII, 620).

El mártir de Madrid. La Barrera. Cotarelo ("Mira de Amescua," XVIII, 30) outlines the story: Pedro Ramírez, in Moorish captivity, renounces Christianity. In Act III he repents and loudly proclaims Christ. The Moorish king has him crucified, but is so impressed with his patience and preaching on the cross that he orders the liberation of Pedro's father, brother, and betrothed. Cotarelo compares the play to Lope's Los mártires de Madrid, on which Cáncer, Villaviciosa, and Moreto based their Dejar un reino para otro. "Sobre el mismo asunto, pero tratado con otras circunstancias y episodios, se compuso por Cáncer, Moreto y Matos otra comedia titulada No hay reino como el de Dios y mártires de Madrid, de la cual . . . hay tres manuscritos antiguos. . . ." We wonder why Cotarelo did not mention Lope's La fianza satisfecha.

Los mártires del Japón. See next entry.

Nuestra Señora de los Remedios. This work and the above are considered autos by La Barrera, BAE, and Cotarelo ("Mira de Amescua," XVIII, 72 and 74).

La vida y muerte de la monja de Portugal. La Barrera; BAE. The play, with much effect and an active role for the devil, deals with Satan's involving an innocent girl in such strong appearances of evil that she dies of the resulting punishments, whereupon a Child Jesus appears and invites her to be His bride. "Su nombre era Soror María de la Visitación, priora del convento de la Anunciata, de Lisboa, y sus enredos y embustes fueron tales que engañó a muchas personas tan graves como fray Luis de Granada, que un tiempo la tuvo por una verdadera santa. . . ." (Cotarelo, "Mira de Amescua," XVIII, 66, note.)

Tirso de Molina (Gabriel Téllez) (1584-1648)¹

1. Comedias de Santos

El árbol del mejor fruto. 1621. The play deals with the discovery of the Cross. BkSts (p. 284) says of St. Helen that "her name is chiefly associated with the discovery of the True Cross in a rock-cistern near Mt. Calvary." An Auto de Santa Elena (Rouanet, II, 21; see Appendix B) may have been a source. La invención de la cruz, another auto, was given for Corpus Christi in Seville in 1559; and Calderón wrote an auto sacramental entitled La cruz hallada y triunfante y glorias de Constantino (B. de los Ríos, III, 309).

Doña Beatriz de Silva. 1619-21. She was a daughter (1424-1490) of the Count of Viana. For a while she was in the Cistercian nunnery of St. Dominic of Silos at Toledo. Later she founded the Congregation of the Immaculate Conception under the Benedictine Rule. Beatified in 1926 (BkSts, p. 94). The same subject is treated in El milagro por los celos y don Alvaro de Luna, usually ascribed to Lope. San Antonio de Padua and "Nuestra Señora, niña," also appear in Tirso's play, which is sometimes listed as Favorecer a todos y amar a ninguno. (See remarks under Lope, El milagro por los celos.)

Los lagos de San Vicente. 1606 or 1607. Santa Casilda died about 1050. She is said to have been of Moorish parentage. She became a Christian and led the life of an anchoress near Briviesca in the province of Burgos. She is venerated throughout Spain, especially in the provinces of Burgos and Toledo. (BkSts, p. 129). Nuestra Señora and San Vicente also appear in the play, which is somewhat similar to the Santa Casilda often attributed to Lope.

El mayor desengaño. 1621. Acts I and II deal with the secular life of St. Bruno (1030-1101). Act III presents his conversion and his founding of the Carthusian Institute. His sketch is found on p. 117 of BkSts.

Quien no cae no se levanta is, according to Ruth L. Kennedy ("Studies for the Chronology of Tirso's Theater," Hispanic Review, XI [1943]), the story of St. Margaret of Cortona (1247-1297; beatified 1626; canonized 1728). See BkSts 395.

¹Titles and dates are from Blanca de los Ríos. We take Professor Wade's word for deletion of La romera de Santiago and La reina de los reyes from Tirso's theater.--Gerald E. Wade, "Tirso de Molina," Hispania, XXXII (May, 1949), 132.

Santo y sastre. 1614-1615. St. Homobonus was a merchant of Cremona who practiced honesty and charity. He died in 1197 while attending mass, which he did every day. He was canonized two years later. (BkSts, p. 295)

Tanto es lo de más como lo de menos. Doña Blanca asserts (II, 898) that this play combines the parables of the prodigal son and the rich miser. St. Lazarus (BkSts, pp. 363-364) is a character in the latter story. Cf. La vida y muerte de San Lázaro under Mira de Amescua.

2. Doubtful Works

La joya de las montañas, Santa Orosia. 1606 or 1607. Doña Blanca offers six substantial reasons for her statement (I, 21) that "o la comedia no es de Tirso, o es de un Tirso absolutamente distinto al que conocemos." According to the legend, St. Eurosia was martyred in 714 in the Aragonese Pyrenees. "She is to this day venerated as the patron saint of the diocese of Jaca, and her cult has spread throughout S. France and N. Italy. Leo XIII officially confirmed it in 1902. However, her very existence is doubtful." (BkSts, p. 213.)

La reina de los reyes. 1616-1618. See note, preceding page. Doña Blanca calls this play an "obra de escaso mérito" (III, 44). It deals with the miraculous appearance to St. Ferdinand (BkSts, p. 231) of an image of the Virgin.

3. Plays with Secondary Roles for Saints

La mujer que manda en casa. 1612. The play is about Jezebel, but St. Elias (Elijah) appears for two monologues and a conversation with an angel. His sketch is on p. 195 of BkSts.

La lealtad contra la envidia. In Act II of this play, which is third in the Pizarro trilogy, Santiago appears on a white horse and frightens the Indians. Nuestra Señora also makes an impressive appearance, but neither speaks.

Santa Juana. 1613-1614. A trilogy. Doña Blanca describes how Tirso and his contemporaries "canonized" Sor Juana de la Cruz, a Franciscan tertiary. Christ, St. Francis, St. Dominic, St. Antony of Padua, and "San Laurel"--who cannot be identified from BkSts--are among the characters. In Part II we find among the characters Cristo, el Niño Jesús, and Cristo Crucificado.

La venganza de Tamar. 1621. A tragedy about the sons of King David, who is listed on p. 168 of BkSts.

4. Deceptive Titles

La madrina del cielo. Doña Blanca informs us (I, 413) that this work is an auto sacramental.

La ninfa del cielo, condesa bandolera y obligaciones de honor. 1613. Though she classifies this play as a "drama romántico-hagiográfico," doña Blanca asserts that much searching and a number of consultations with Catholic authorities convinced her that the play is a "creación exclusivamente de Tirso" (I, 778).

Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600-1681)

1. Comedias de Santos

Los cabellos de Absalón. 1633¹ or earlier (La Barrera). Absalom is not a saint, but David (BkSts, p. 168) has a major role. "Tomada en parte de La venganza de Tamar, del maestro Tirso de Molina, y un acto copiado literalmente. . . ." (Cotarelo, "Ensayo," IX, 38). "Catálogo," BAE XLVII.

Las cadenas del Demonio. (La Barrera; "Catálogo," BAE XLVII.) San Bartolomé is among the personages.

Los dos amantes del cielo. (La Barrera; "Catálogo," BAE XLVII.) St. Chrysanthus, an Egyptian, and St. Daria, a Greek, were martyred in 283 under Numerian and Carinus (BkSts, p. 141). The play, "though apparently based on no one particular work, must have drawn upon the rich stores of pietistic legend, as well, it seems, as on a contemporary event of some note" (Silva, p. 149, note 2).

El mágico prodigioso. 1637 (La Barrera; also listed in "Catálogo," BAE). Sts. Cyprian and Justina are duly listed (BkSts, p. 161), but with this reservation: "There is no evidence whatever to justify the belief that these two persons ever existed. The story is merely a moral fable."

La Margarita preciosa. Written with Zabaleta and Cáncer; Calderón wrote Act III. (La Barrera; listed also in "Catálogo," BAE XLVII.) St. Margaret or Marina is said to have been a maiden of Antioch, martyred under Diocletian. "This much is probably true; everything else related in her Acta is pure legend, including, of course, the story of the fierce dragon which swallowed her before she was beheaded (BkSts, p. 395). St. Marina is sometimes confused with St. Margaret, sometimes with another Marina who lived in a monastery dressed as a boy, like Santa Pelagia (BkSts, p. 397).

El mejor padre de pobres. Cotarelo ("Catálogo," XVIII, 448) lists San Juan de Dios and Nuestra Señora among the characters. St. John of God (BkSts, p. 324) founded the Order of Brothers Hospitalers.

El príncipe constante, y mártir de Portugal. 1629 (La Barrera; also listed in "Catálogo," BAE XLVII). Deals with Ferdinand of Portugal (1402-1443; beatified in 1470). He led a military

¹Dates, where given, are from Cotarelo's "Ensayo."

expedition against the Moors, but was defeated at Tangier. "He was imprisoned at Arzilla and remained a prisoner, with never a word of complaint, for five years, finally dying there of neglect" (BkSts, p. 231).

El purgatorio de San Patricio. 1628 (La Barrera; also listed in "Catálogo," BAE XLVII.) See BkSts, p. 460. The play was taken, as was the one ascribed to Lope, from Montalbán's Vida y Purgatorio de San Patricio (Cotarelo, "Ensayo," IX, 48, note 2).

2. Doubtful Works

Fuego de Dios en el querer bien. (La Barrera; listed also in "Catálogo," BAE XLVII.) Cotarelo lists the characters ("Catálogo," XVIII, 439); among them are a Beatriz and a don Pedro de Silva. Could the play be about Beatrice da Silva (1424-1490; beatified in 1926, according to BkSts, p. 94)?

El Josef de las mujeres. (La Barrera; listed also in "Catálogo," BAE XLVII.) The play deals with Eugenia of Alexandria; demons and angels are also among the characters. There is a St. Eugenia (BkSts, p. 211); she was martyred under Valerian and later described, though groundlessly, as a woman who disguised herself as a monk. But she was a Roman.

3. Deceptive Titles

El Angel de la Guarda. The list of characters, as given by Cotarelo ("Catálogo," XVIII, 263) includes no saints.

El árbol del mejor fruto. Cf. same title under Tirso de Molina. Calderón's work, however, is called an auto by Valbuena.¹

La aurora en Copacabana. (La Barrera; "Catálogo," BAE XLVII.) Angels are listed among the characters, but no saints.

La devoción de la Cruz. 1633 or earlier (La Barrera; also listed in "Catálogo," BAE XLVII). The play is "sacada en idea del Condenado por desconfiado" (Cotarelo, "Ensayo," IX, 38). Arnold G. Reichenberger, reviewing Heaton's edition of La cruz en la sepultura (Hispania, XXXII [August, 1949], 404-406) asserts that La cruz en la sepultura is the original title of the play here in question, and that its ascription to Lope is in error.

¹Calderón, Comedias Religiosas, ed. Angel Valbuena Prat (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1930), p. 54.

La exaltación de la cruz. 1648 (La Barrera; listed also in "Catálogo," BAE XLVII). The Emperor Heraclio brings the true Cross to Jerusalem, where a Zacharias is priest; BkSts offers no help with either name.

La Virgen del Sagrario. 1637 (La Barrera). Mesonero Romanos ("Catálogo," BAE XLVII) calls it an auto. "A blending of Toledan legends and hints from the Romancero" (Silva, p. 194, note 2).

4. Lost Plays¹

La orden de la Redención, y Virgen de los Remedios. 1650. La Barrera wonders whether this MS, which was in Lord Holland's library, is the unknown Nuestra Señora de los Remedios of Calderón (which BAE XLVII, xxxviii, lists as an auto), or whether it is by Lope (the MS bears his name), or whether it is La esclavitud más dichosa y Virgen de los Remedios of Francisco de Villegas and Jusepe Rojo.

San Francisco de Borja. La Barrera; "Catálogo," BAE XLVII. Born near Valencia, St. Francis (1510-1572) was an important counter-reformer. "Austere with himself, Francis was the typical saint of the Spanish nobility--couteous, refined, kind, humble and generous, yet most determined and enterprising" (BkSts, p. 246). The existence of two plays called San Francisco de Borja, by two Jesuit fathers who imitated Calderón, was thought to indicate a play by Calderón with this title; but Dr. M. Bohacek affirms that the two plays were written in imitation of Calderon's El gran Duque de Gandía, which he found in 1960 in Czechoslovakia. The Czech Academy of Sciences has promised a critical edition in Spanish (Bulletin of the Comediantes, XIII (Spring, 1961), p. 11).

La Virgen de la Almudena, primera y segunda parte. 1640 (La Barrera; also listed in "Catálogo," BAE XLVII).

El carro del cielo, San Elías. La Barrera; "Catálogo," BAE XLVII. St. Elijah, patron of the Carmelites, is listed in BkSts, p. 195.

Los desagrvios de María. La Barrera. Listed in the BAE as an auto (XLVII, xxxviii).

El triunfo de la Cruz. La Barrera; "Catálogo," BAE XLVII. Saints?

La Virgen de Madrid. La Barrera. Is this the same play as Nuestra Señora de Madrid (BAE, XLVII, xxxviii)?

¹The seven plays in this section were promised by Vera Tassis for Part Ten of Calderón's works, but they were never published (La Barrera, p. 55). The last four titles are listed by La Barrera (p. 55) as unknown to date.

Juan Pérez de Montalbán (1602-1638)¹

1. Comedias de Santos

El divino portugués, San Antonio de Padua. St. Antony of Padua (1195-1231) was canonized in 1232. He was a native of Lisbon. "Bent on martyrdom he sailed for Africa, but illness and storm brought him to Italy, where under the guidance of St. Francis, he began his career as a preacher--'the hammer of heretics'-- and as a wonder-worker." He is reputed to retrieve the lost belongings of careless people. (BkSts, p. 62.)

La gitana de Menfis, Santa María Egipciaca. St. Mary of Egypt was an actress and courtesan at Alexandria. After her conversion, which is supposed to have taken place at the holy sepulcher, she fled into the desert beyond Jordan, where she spent the rest of her life doing penance. There she was found dead, about the year 500, by two disciples of St. Cyriacus. Her story subsequently received numerous additions. (BkSts, pp. 404-405.)

El hijo del Serafín, San Pedro de Alcántara. Born at Alcántara in Extremadura in 1499, St. Peter received papal approval for a severe Franciscan reform known as Alcantarine. A mystic, he was the confessor and admirer of St. Teresa. She considered his austerities and penances incomprehensible. He was canonized in 1669. (BkSts, p. 479.)

San Juan Capistrano. La Barrera wonders (p. 268) whether this work is by Gaspar de Avila. St. John of Capistrano (1386-1456) became a Franciscan at thirty. His whole religious life was spent as papal legate to various states. He was canonized in 1724. (BkSts, p. 326.)

Santo Domingo en Soriano. St. Dominic the Founder is described in BkSts, pp. 178-179.

La Tercera Orden de San Francisco. Written in collaboration with Lope de Vega; Montalbán wrote Act II and part of Act III.

San Juan Bautista. Alluded to by Jenaro Alenda (see p. 52 of the present study), but not listed by La Barrera nor in the BAE.

¹Titles for Montalbán come from La Barrera (pp. 264-268), unless otherwise indicated. The first five works are listed as autos sacramentales in the BAE "Catálogo" (XLV, liv), and the first three are so called by Mesonero Romanos in his "Apuntes biográficos y críticos," BAE XLV, xxxii. La Barrera treats them as comedias, however.

2. Doubtful Titles

El mejor padre de pobres. Often ascribed to Calderón, according to La Barrera.

La monja alférez. Also listed by Mesonero Romanos ("Apuntes biográficos y críticos," BAE XLV, xxxii).

Obrar bien, que Dios es Dios. Also listed in the "Catálogo," BAE XLV, lii.

El premio de la humildad. Also listed in the "Catálogo," BAE XLV, lii.

El sufrimiento premiado.

Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla (1607-1648)¹

1. Comedias de Santos

La loca del cielo. Mesonero Romanos. La Barrera questions that Rojas is the author of this play. St. Pelagia is found in BkSts, p. 466.

Los tres blasones de España, or Antes de nacer muriendo, y muriendo victorioso, San Emiterio y Celodonio, mártires de Calahorra. BAE; Mesonero Romanos. Act I was written by Coello. Sts. Hemiterius and Cheledonius were fourth-century martyrs at Calahorra. (BkSts, p. 285.)

Nuestra Señora de Atocha, la patrona de Madrid. BAE; Mesonero Romanos.

La segunda Magdalena, la sirena de Nápoles. This play is not listed by La Barrera, but is found in the BAE list. Inaccessibility of the play makes it impossible to identify the protagonist. Diamante's La Magdalena de Roma is about St. Catherine of Siena; the same author's Santa María Magdalena de Pazzi and Vélez' La Magdalena perhaps add to the possibilities. Cotarelo tells us ("Mira de Amescua," XVII, 613) that Mira's La adúltera virtuosa is about a queen of Naples; but the only Mary or Mary Magdalen placed in Naples by BkSts (p. 408) is Mary Frances (Anna Maria Gallo), who was of a middle class family. Miss Kennedy (pp. 152-153) compares the play to Vélez' La adúltera penitente, which is about St. Theodora of Alexandria.

La vida en el ataúd. BAE; Mesonero Romanos. Reynier informs us (p. 827) that it is about St. Boniface, "a martyr beheaded at Tarsus in Cilicia, whither, his fictitious acts add, he had gone from Rome to recover the bodies of certain martyrs. . . ." (BkSts, p. 112). This title is not listed by La Barrera.

2. Doubtful Works²

Lo que Dios al hombre precia. BAE; Mesonero Romanos. In the BAE "Catálogo" (XLVII, xxxix), Mesonero Romanos suggests that it was written by Rojas and Argomeda.

¹All titles are from La Barrera (pp. 339-343) unless otherwise indicated. "BAE" under Rojas refers to the "Catálogo" on p. xxix of BAE XLVII. By "Mesonero Romanos" is meant his "Apuntes biográficos y críticos," BAE LIV, ix-x.

²Both La Barrera and Mesonero Romanos agree that Nuestra Señora del Rosario y corona más hermosa is an auto sacramental.

Los mártires de Valencia. BAE; Mesonero Romanos.

El más bueno y el más malo. La Barrera tells us this play is made up of three acts, each with a separate title and each an auto sacramental: La cena de Cristo, La venta de Cristo, and Muerte y entierro de Cristo, y soledad de María. Milego classifies it simply "auto" (p. 168).

San Atanasio. BAE; Mesonero Romanos. But Milego (p. 171) calls the work an auto sacramental. BkSts (pp. 75-76) lists several saints by this name. One (c. 297-373) has been given such titles as "Father of Orthodoxy," "Pillar of the Church," and "Champion of Christ's divinity." His life-work was to defeat Arianism. "One of his most attractive characteristics was his unfailing humour, which often proved a deadly weapon against his adversaries. . . . He is the pioneer of scientific theology."

Santa Isabel, reina de Portugal. BAE; Mesonero Romanos. But Milego (p. 171) deems it an auto sacramental. St. Elizabeth, born in Aragon in 1271, "was married at twelve years of age to the dissolute and selfish King Denis of Portugal. She distinguished herself as a peace-maker between the kings of Portugal, Castile and Aragon. After the death of her husband she retired to a Poor Clare convent as a tertiary. She was canonized in 1625." (BkSts, p. 196.)

Santa Tazé. An auto sacramental, says Milego (p. 171). Mesonero Romanos (BAE LIV, x) informs us, "Se atribuye a Zárate." St. Thais Penitent died about 348. She was "a wealthy and beautiful courtesan of Alexandria converted . . . and walled up for three years in a cell. Only toward the end of her life was she admitted to full conventual life with the other nuns. Some modern writers consider the story a moral tale with no foundation of fact." (BkSts, p. 560.)

Juan de Matos Fragoso (1610 or 1614-1692)¹

1. Comedias de Santos

La adúltera penitente. Written with Moreto and Cáncer. St. Theodora Penitent is found in BkSts, p. 563.

El Bruto de Babilonia. Mesonero Romanos. Written with Moreto and Cáncer, according to BAE. Daniel (BkSts, p. 166) is a character.

Caer para levantar. BAE; Mesonero Romanos. Written with Moreto and Cáncer. See this title under Moreto for details.

El divino calabrés, San Francisco de Paula. BAE. With Avellaneda. Born at Paola in 1416, St. Francis became a hermit at fourteen. The disciples who followed him eventually formed a community known as the Minim Friars. Its founder was canonized in 1519. (BkSts, p. 243.)

Los dos prodigios de Roma, San Adrián y Santa Natalia. BAE. St. Adrian, a pagan officer at Nicomedia, aided Christian prisoners and was himself cast into prison. St. Natalia, his wife, cared for him and the others until they were martyred. St. Adrian is the patron of butchers and soldiers. (BkSts, pp. 11-12.)

El fénix de Alemania, vida y muerte de Santa Cristina. BAE. This beata (1242-1312) was born at Stommeln, near Cologne. Her life is a record of "most extraordinary phenomena which indeed tax the faith of the reader. They were recorded by a contemporary Friar Preacher. Cult confirmed in 1908" (BkSts, p. 139)

El hijo de la piedra y segundo Pío Quinto, San Félix de Cantalicio. BAE. St. Felix (1513-1587) begged the daily alms for his friary. He was a friend of St. Charles Borromeo and St. Philip Neri. He was the first Capuchin friar to be canonized (1724). (BkSts, p. 228.)

La inocencia perseguida, y venganza en el empeño, Santa Genoveva. BAE. St. Genevieve, who died about 500, took the veil at fifteen. She was known for penance and charity, and for encouraging the Parisians against Attila and the Huns. (BkSts, p. 257.)

El Job de las mujeres, or Santa Isabel, reina de Ungria. BAE. The daughter of King Andrew of Hungary, St. Elizabeth, after the death of her husband in the Crusades, became a Franciscan tertiary and cared for the destitute. She died at twenty-four, in 1231, and was canonized in 1235. (BkSts, p. 196.)

¹All titles are from La Barrera (pp. 239-242). "BAE" under Matos refers to the "Catálogo," xlii. By "Mesonero Romanos" is meant his "Apuntes biográficos y críticos," BAE XLVII, xxv.

El letrado del cielo. BAE; Mesonero Romanos. From the list of characters as given by Cotarelo ("Catálogo," XVIII, 608), it is supposed that the play is about Bl. James Bianconi, native of what is now Bevagna in Spoleto, founder and first prior of the Dominican friary in his native city. His cult was approved in 1400 and again in 1674. (BkSts, p. 314.) The latter date probably explains why the play was written.

El marido de su madre, San Gregorio. BAE; Mesonero Romanos. The play may be about Bl. Gregory Celli of Verucchio; his mother founded a monastery for the Augustinians in his native town, and he took the habit there. But his cult was not approved until 1769. (BkSts, p. 274.)

Nuestra Señora del Pilar. Written with Moreto and Villaviciosa.

San Proylán, o el segundo Moisés. Written with Moreto, asserts La Barrera; Miss Kennedy does not study the play. A native of Lugo in Galicia, St. Froilán served as abbot in Old Castile and became bishop of Leon. He and St. Attilanus were the great restorers of Benedictine monasticism in western Spain. (BkSts, p. 249.)

San Jerónimo. The BAE "Catálogo" (XLVII, xlii) gives Arcadia en Belén as alternate title, and calls it an auto. La Barrera considers it a comedia. St. Jerome, officially venerated as a doctor of the Church, was praised by Lope in El cardenal de Belén.

Vida y muerte de San Cayetano. See this title under Moreto.

La Virgen de la Fuencisla. Written with Villaviciosa and Zabaleta.

2. Doubtful Titles

La defensa de la fe y Príncipe prodigioso. Mesonero Romanos. Written with Moreto, according to La Barrera.

La devoción del ángel de la guarda. BAE.

La fénix del Ave María.

No hay reino como el de Dios. BAE. Written with Moreto and Cáncer, according to La Barrera.

El redentor cautivo. BAE; Mesonero Romanos. Written with Villaviciosa. Is it possibly about St. Peter Nolasco (BkSts, p. 470), who personally ransomed several hundred captives from the Moors?

Sólo el piadoso es mi hijo. Mesonero Romanos. Written with Villaviciosa and Avelaneda.

Agustín Moreto y Cabaña (1618-1669)¹

La adúltera penitente. Theodora of Alexandria is described as one who fell but repented and persevered with abstinence and patience until her death. Amplifications of her story make her comparable to St. Pelagia of Antioch (BkSts, p. 563). Miss Kennedy thinks Calderón wrote the first act, Cáncer or Matos the second, and Moreto the third (p. 11). The play is summarized and compared to Rojas' Magdalena de Nápoles on pp. 152-153.

Antes morir que pecar. This play is about San Casimiro, who, it is supposed, is the St. Casimir imprisoned by his father when he refused to employ force to seize the crown of Hungary. The rest of his life he devoted to prayer and study, dying in 1483. He is the patron saint of Poland and Lithuania (BkSts, p. 129).

Caer para levantar. This play, like Mira de Amescua's El esclavo del demonio, to which it is indebted, is about St. Giles of Santarem (BkSts, p. 267; Kennedy, p. 155). Though the play is attributed in the closing verses to Matos, Cáncer, and Moreto, Miss Kennedy sees Moreto's workmanship throughout (p. 13).

Los más dichosos hermanos. This play, listed as Los siete durmientes by Miss Kennedy, was, according to Cotarelo ("Catálogo," XVIII, 466), printed in 1663. The legend of the Seven Sleepers has it that seven youths of Ephesus were walled up in a cave under Decius in 250, and found there alive in 362, having spent the intervening years in sleep. The authenticity of the story of these saints has long been questioned (BkSts, p. 535).

El más ilustre francés, San Bernardo. St. Bernard of Clairvaux, considered founder of the Cistercians, was declared a doctor of the Church in 1830 (BkSts, p. 102). Miss Kennedy comments (p. 180) that the play seems to reflect recent reading of Don Quijote.

Nuestra Señora del Aurora. Cotarelo ("Catálogo," XVIII, 790) agrees with Miss Kennedy (p. 12) that Moreto collaborated with Cáncer in this play.

¹All titles except Los más dichosos hermanos are taken from the study on Moreto by Ruth Lee Kennedy, who asserts (p. 11) that "the following should be excised from Moreto's theater": Dejar un reino para otro y mártires de Madrid (see under Mira de Amescua), La milagrosa elección de San Pío V, El Rosario perseguido, and San Luis Beltrán. She also doubts (p. 13) that El Cristo de los milagros is Moreto's.

Nuestra Señora del Pilar. Santiago is among the characters (Cotarelo, "Catálogo," XVIII, 260). "The three acts are ordinarily assigned to Villaviciosa, Matos, and Moreto in the order named, but it is difficult to see the hand of Matos or Moreto in this deadly dull comedy" (Kennedy, p. 13). We note that the same title is found among the works of Lanini Sagredo.

San Franco de Sena. The Blessed Franco Lippi is listed on p. 247 of BkSts., from which we quote: "A fugitive from justice, he joined a band of condottieri and excelled them all in crime until about his fiftieth year. Then he became blind, repented, went on a pilgrimage to Compostella, received back his sight, was absolved by Gregory X, and admitted to the Carmelite Order as a lay-brother. He was already over sixty-five, but managed to earn the title of Saint by his fervour in his new life." Miss Kennedy points out (pp. 194-195) similarities to Tirso's El condenado por desconfiado, to Moreto's own Caer para levantar, and, through the latter, to Mira de Amescua's El esclavo del demonio.

Santa Rosa del Perú. Kennedy (p. 13) and Cotarelo ("Catálogo," XVIII, 798) agree that Moreto wrote the first two acts, Lanini Sagredo the last act. St. Rose was born at Lima in 1586. "She is the first American born to have been canonized (1671) and is venerated as the patron saint of S. America and the Philippines" (BkSts., p. 517).

La vida de San Alejo. BkSts., after outlining the familiar story of St. Alexis (p. 31), concludes with: "However, only this seems certain: that the saint lived, and died and was buried at Edessa."

La vida y muerte de San Cayetano. Written in collaboration with Diamante, Matos, Avellaneda, Villaviciosa, and Ambrosio de Arce. St. Cajetan (1480-1547; canonized in 1671) was co-founder of the congregation known as Theatines (BkSts., p. 123).

Juan Bautista Diamante (c. 1635-c. 1700)¹

1. Comedias de Santos

El apóstol de Valencia, San Vicente Ferrer. Written in collaboration with Lanini Sagredo. St. Vincent (BkSts, p. 597) was instrumental in ending the papal schism.

Cumplir a Dios la palabra, o La hija de Jepté. Jephtha's daughter, Zipporah, was the wife of Moses. St. Moses is listed in BkSts, p. 431.

La Magdalena de Roma y bella Catalina. Catherine of Siena, struggling for the healing of the schism, died in Rome after going there in 1378. Canonized in 1461, she was declared the patron saint of Italy in 1939 (BkSts, pp. 132-133).

El negro más prodigioso. This play deals with St. Moses the Black (BkSts, p. 431), not with Benedict of Palermo, written about by Lope in El santo negro Rosambuco and by Vélez in El negro del Serafín. Menéndez y Pelayo calls it a refundición of Lope's El prodigio de Etiopía (Academy IV, lxx).

Santa Juliana. Twelve saints by this name are listed (BkSts, pp. 351-352).

Santa María del monte, y Convento de San Juan.

Santa María Magdalena de Pazzi. This saint died in 1607, and was canonized in 1669 (BkSts, p. 405).

Santa Teresa de Jesús. "She is the saint of sound common sense, of sane good humour, of generous ideals, 'one of the greatest, most attractive and widely appreciated women the world has ever known.'" (BkSts, p. 559.)

Santo Tomás de Villanueva. St. Thomas, who lived from 1488 to 1555, was canonized in 1658. "Appointed prior successively of the Augustinian friaries of Salamanca (where he taught moral theology in the university), Burgos and Valladolid. Later he became . . . archbishop of Valencia. As archbishop his outstanding characteristic was self-sacrifice: he was known as the grand almoner of the poor." (BkSts, p. 575.)

¹La Barrera, pp. 123-125; "Catálogo," BAE XLVII, xliii.

Vida y muerte de San Cayetano. Written in collaboration with Moreto, Matos, Avellaneda, Sebastián de Villaviciosa, and Ambrosio de Arce. St. Cajetan (1480-1547; canonized in 1671) was co-founder of the congregation of clerks known as Theatines (BkSts, p. 123).

2. Doubtful Plays

La Devoción del Rosario, o El esclavo de María, o El defensor del Rosario. Is this play, like Lope's La devoción del Rosario, about Bl. Antony Neyrot (BkSts, p. 61)?

El tirano castigado. Cotarelo ("Catálogo," XVIII, 799) shows among the characters "Segismundo, Rey de Polonia." It is unlikely that he is connected with St. Sigismund, king of the Burgundians in the sixth century (BkSts, p. 539).

La Virgen del Buen Suceso. La Barrera calls this a play; the BAE ("Catálogo," XLVII, xlii) deems it an auto sacramental.

Juan Claudio de la Hoz y Mota¹

Morir en la cruz con Cristo, San Dimas. The name of this saint was finally located in BkSts, p. 271, under "Good Thief," where we read, "The name of Dismas has been given him by tradition, and a number of legends have grown up around his name; but except for the episode recorded in the gospel, nothing is known about him."

El primer blasón de España, San Hermenegildo. St. Hermengild, son of Leovigild, Visigothic king of Spain, was martyred in 585 at the instigation of his stepmother, when he refused to renounce his new faith (BkSts, p. 289). One might wonder whether the author leaned on the 1580 version of La tragedia de San Hermenegildo.²

San Bernardo Abad. Written in collaboration with Bances Candamo. The play deals with St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1091-1153), the "real founder of the Cistercians," who was declared a doctor of the Church in 1830 (BkSts, p. 102).

Santo Domingo. St. Dominic de Guzmán founded the order of Friars Preachers (BkSts, pp. 178-179).

El sepulcro de Santiago y Sagrada cruz de Oviedo.

La Virgen de Guadalupe. Written in collaboration with Bances Candamo, according to La Barrera; the BAE does not mention any other writer.

¹These titles come from La Barrera, pp. 186-187. The last one is also found in the "Catálogo," BAE XLVII, xlv.

²See Chapter I, pp. 57-58.

Pedro Lanini Sagredo (c. 1645-c. 1706)¹

El águila de la iglesia, San Agustín. Written in collaboration with Bustos,² according to La Barrera.

El ángel de las escuelas, Santo Tomás.

El apóstol de Alemania, San Norberto.

El apóstol de Valencia, San Vicente Ferrer. Written with Diamante, according to La Barrera.

La gran patrona de España.

El Hijo del carpintero.

Labrador, rey y monje, or El mejor rey de los godos. Written with Bustos, according to the BAE; with Isidoro de Burgos Mantilla, according to La Barrera.

El lucero de Madrid, Nuestra Señora de Atocha.

Nuestra Señora de la Novena.

Nuestra Señora del Pilar.

Nuestra Señora y San Ildefonso.

La nueva maravilla de la gracia, Juana de Jesús María. "Prohibida in totum por la Inquisición" (La Barrera, p. 200).

El prodigio de la fe y feliz renegado.

Saber obligar a Dios para llegar a ser rey.

¹Though not even considered a second-rate playwright, Lanini Sagredo is included here because, since virtually half his works are comedias devotas--many of them comedias de santos--he can serve as a witness to the continuing popularity of such plays. These titles, except for the last three, are found in both La Barrera (pp. 200-201) and the BAE (XLVII, xlii). The last three are found in La Barrera only.

²Francisco González de Bustos, whose six known plays include El fénix de la Escritura, San Jerónimo, Santa Eulalia de Mérida, and Santa Rosa de Viterbo (BAE XLVII, xliii).

Será lo que Dios quisiere. We learn from Cotarelo ("Catálogo," XIX, 164) that St. Anthony, St. John, and Christ are among the characters.

El sol del Oriente, San Basilio Magno.

El gran Rey ancoreta, San Onofre. Distinct, says La Barrera, from Claramonte's.

Resucitar con el agua, San Pedro de Mazara. Written with Jose Ruiz and Jacinto Hurtado de Mendoza.

Santa Rosa del Perú. With Moreto; Lanini wrote the third act.

APPENDIX B

THE ROUANET COLLECTION¹

In order to suggest the importance of saints in these sixteenth-century autos, farsas, and coloquios, the titles of all ninety-six works are listed below, together with the volume and page on which the work begins, and the names of the saints and/or other divine personages among the characters. Saints have roles, it will be noted, in fifty-seven of the ninety-six works, and fifty-one of these are dramatic works in which the role of the saint is of first importance. In a few cases, notes considered appropriate to the present study have been added.

1. Auto del Sacreficio de Abraham (I, 1): Abraham, God the Father.
2. Aucto del destierro de Agar (I, 22): Abraham.
3. Aucto de quando Abraham se fue a tierra de Canaan (I, 35):
Abraham, God the Father.
4. Aucto de quando Jacob fue huyendo a las tierras de Arán (I, 51):
No saints.
5. Aucto de los desposorios de Ysac (I, 67): Abraham.
6. Aucto de los desposorios de Ysac (I, 97): Abraham.
7. Farsa del Sacramento del amor divino (I, 116): No saints.
8. Auto del Robo de Digna (I, 132): No saints.
9. Farsa sacramental de la residencia del hombre (I, 152): No saints.

¹Léo Rouanet (ed.), Colección de autos, farsas y coloquios del siglo XVI, Vols. V-VIII of the Bibliotheca Hispanica (Barcelona: L'Avenc, 1901).

10. Aucto del Magna (I, 169): Moses, Aaron. Based on Exodus 16.
11. Aucto de la lucha de Jacob con el angel (I, 182): No saints.
12. Aucto del Finamiento de Jacob (I, 200): No saints.
13. Auto de Sanson (I, 217): No saints.
14. Aucto del Rey Nabucdonosor quando se hizo adorar (I, 232):
"Sidrac, Misac, Abdenago, Angel." Rouanet's note (IV, 167) states that what is in this work was the basis of El bruto de Babilonia, by Matos, Cáncer, and Moreto.
15. Auto del Sueño de Nabucodonosor (I, 252): Daniel. Rouanet indicates (IV, 170) that Guillén de Castro may have leaned on this work for his Las maravillas de Babilonia.
16. Aucto del Rey Asuero quando descompuso a Basti (I, 267): No saints.
17. Auto del Rey Assuero quando ahorcó a Amán (I, 283): No saints.
18. Aucto de La lepra de Naaman. (I, 301): No saints.
19. Aucto de La ungió de David (I, 315): Samuel, David.
20. Aucto de Los desposorios de Joseph (I, 331): No saints.
21. Aucto de Tobias (I, 358): St. Raphael the angel. Rouanet reminds us (IV, 184) of Lope's Historia de Tobías and Rojas' Los trabajos de Tobías.
22. Aucto de Abraham quando vencio los quatro reyes (I, 377): Abraham.
23. Aucto del Emperador Juveniano (I, 394): No saints.
24. Auto del Sacrificio de Jete (I, 408): No saints.
25. Aucto de La conversion de Sant Pablo (I, 426): Paul, Ananias, Christ. Rouanet observes that this work underlies Lope's El vaso de elección and Vélez de Guevara's Los tres portentos de Dios (IV, 196).
26. Auto de Sant Jorge quando mato la serpiente (I, 437): St. George. The Book of Saints (p. 259) says that most of what is ascribed to St. George, including the dragon, is fictitious.
27. Aucto de Sanct Christoval (I, 451): Christopher, Christ.

28. Aucto de Un milagro de Sancto Andres. (I, 468): St. Andrew.
29. Auto del Martyrio de Sant Justo y Pastor (I, 483): Sts. Justo and Pastor. Cañete (Teatro español, pp. 7-8, 301-316) discusses this work and states that he believes it was written by Alonso de Torres.
30. Aucto de La destruicion de Jerusalem (I, 502): No saints.
31. Aucto de La Asunción de Nuestra Señora (II, 1): Nuestra Señora, John, Peter, James, Andrew, Christ, all the other apostles. This auto is summarized at the end of the appendix.
32. Aucto de La Asunción de Nuestra Señora (II, 8): Nuestra Señora, John, Andrew, James, Peter, Moses, God the Father, Christ, the Holy Spirit, Thomas, all the other apostles. This work is summarized at the end of the appendix.
33. Aucto de Quando Sancta Elena hallo la cruz de Nuestro Señor (II, 21): St. Helen. Rouanet (IV, 214) relates Tirso's El árbol del mejor fruto to this work. Calderón's auto with the latter title is about Solomon and Sheba.
34. Entremés de Las esteras (II, 43): No saints.
35. Aucto de La degollación de Sant Juan Baptista (II, 49): St. John, St. Andrew, St. James. Rouanet reminds us (IV, 219) of Guillén de Castro's La degollación de San Juan Bautista.
36. Aucto de La muerte de Adonias (II, 62): No saints.
37. Auto del Martyrio de Sancta Barbara (II, 78): St. Barbara. According to Rouanet (IV, 226), this work may have served Lope for La Bárbara del cielo and Guillén de Castro for El prodigio de los montes.
38. Aucto del Martyrio de Sancta Bulalia (II, 90): Bulalia, two angels.
39. Aucto de Sant Francisco (II, 110): St. Francis. Rouanet indicates that this work may have inspired Lope's El Serafín humano and the lost La gloria de San Francisco, attributed to Lope, which may have been the promised second part.
40. Aucto del Peccado de Adan (II, 133): Adam, Eve, God the Father. Rouanet (IV, 235): "Dans La creación del mundo y culpa del primer hombre, de Lope de Vega, la première journée correspond exactement à notre sujet." He also relates to this work Lope's La primera culpa del hombre and Vélez de Guevara's La creación del mundo.

41. Auto de Cain y Abel (II, 150): Abel, God the Father. This is the only work in the collection of which the authorship is certain: Jaime Ferruz wrote it. Cañete (Teatro español, p. 270) says its date is unknown, but it enjoyed great popularity in the last years of the sixteenth century and the early part of the seventeenth. It is a "tragedia en miniatura, la más antigua de Caín y Abel que hoy se conoce en nuestro idioma." (Ibid., p. 294.)
42. Aucto de La prevaricación de nuestro padre Adan (II, 167): Adam, Eve, God the Father. Cañete (Teatro español, p. 125) thinks Micael de Carvajal wrote this one; Gillet (Carvajal, Tragedia Josefina, p. xix) disagrees.
43. La Justicia divina contra el peccado de Adan (II, 186): Adam, Eve, God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit.
44. Aucto de Los hierros de Adan (II, 216): Adam and many angels.
45. Aucto de La culpa y captividad (II, 243): No saints.
46. Auto de La entrada de Cristo en Jerusalem (II, 264): Christ, the twelve apostles.
47. Aucto de La prisión de Sant Pedro (II, 279): Peter, Mark, Christ, an angel.
48. Aucto del Hijo prodigo (II, 294): No saints. Rouanet says (IV, 262) that Tirso borrowed from this work for part of his Tanto es lo de más.
49. Auto de Los desposorios de Moysen (II, 314): Moses. This work has been attributed, but without proof, to Lope de Rueda. It is said to be a source of Lope's La corona derribada y vara de Moisés (Rouanet, IV, 270).
50. Auto de La residencia del hombre (II, 330): No saints.
51. Aucto de La circuncision de Nuestro Señor (II, 356): Nuestra Señora, Joseph.
52. Aucto de La huida de Egipto (II, 374): Nuestra Señora, Joseph. Patt (pp. 243-246) states that this is the only extant Castilian play of the sixteenth century on this subject. The role of the bobo is prominent.
53. Aucto de Las donas que embio Adan a Nuestra Señora con Sant Lazaro (II, 388): The entire cast is "Nuestra Señora, Sant Lazaro, La Humanidad."

54. Auto del Despedimiento de Christo de su madre (II, 403): Peter, John, Nuestra Señora, Mary Magdalene, Martha, Adam, Lazarus.
55. Aucto de La verdad y la mentira (II, 421): No saints.
56. Auto del Hospedamiento que hizo Sancta Marta a Christo (II, 438): The twelve apostles, Martha, Mary Magdalene, Christ.
57. Aucto de acusación contra el genero humano (II, 449): Nuestra Señora, St. Gabriel, Christ.
58. Aucto de Los triunfos de Petrarca (II, 479): David, Adam, the four evangelists, Abraham, Christ.
59. Auto de Naval y Abigail (II, 502): David. Rouanet (IV, 292) thinks Lope de Rueda may have written this one. He traces to it Lope de Vega's Montes de Gelboé y David perseguido.
60. Auto de la Resurrección de Christo (II, 514): No saints.
61. Auto de la Resurrección de Christo (III, 1): Mathew, Luke, Mark, John, and "La Inocencia d'Adan."
62. Auto de la Asumption de Nuestra Señora (III, 19): Nuestra Señora, St. John, St. James, St. Peter, and the other apostles.
63. Aucto de La conversion de Sant Pablo (III, 34): Paul, Ananias, Christ. Cf. no. 25 (above).
64. Aucto de La conversion de la Madalena (III, 49): Mary Magdalene, Peter, John, the other apostles. Rouanet (IV, 308-309) observes a relationship between this work and two Siglo de Oro works: Lope's La Magdalena o La mejor enamorada, and Vélez de Guevara's La Magdalena.
65. Colloquio de Fenisa (a lo divino) en loor de Nuestra Señora (III, 67): Nuestra Señora, St. Luke, St. Bernard.
66. Colloquio de Fide Ypsa (III, 89): St. John, St. Augustine, St. Thomas.
67. Auto (sin título e incompleto) (III, 121): No saints.
68. Farsa del sacramento de Las cortes de la Yglesia (III, 131): No saints.
69. Farsa del sacramento (III, 149): Jeremiah, Isaiah.
70. Farsa del sacramento de Los sembradores (III, 165): No saints.

71. Farsa del sacramento de La fuente de Sant Juan (III, 180):
St. John.
72. Farsa del sacramento de Peralforja (III, 200): No saints.
73. Farsa del sacramento llamada La esposa de los Cantares (III, 212):
Christ, allegorical characters--and a devil.
74. Farsa del sacramento del Pueblo gentil (III, 229): St. Thomas,
St. Bonaventure.
75. Farsa del sacramento llamada Prematica del pan (III, 245): No
saints.
76. Aucto de La visitación de Sant Antonio a Sant Pablo (III, 261):
St. Paul, St. Antony, three angels.
77. Farsa del sacramento del Engaño (III, 276): No saints.
78. Farsa del sacramento de Moselina (III, 297): No saints.
79. Farsa del sacramento de Los cinco sentidos (III, 316): No saints.
80. Farsa del sacramento llamada de Los lenguajes (III, 329): No
saints.
81. Farsa del Triunpho del Sacramento (III, 346): No saints.
82. Farsa del sacramento de Las coronas (III, 381): No saints.
83. Farsa del sacramento de Los tres estados (III, 394): No saints.
84. Farsa del sacramento de La moneda (III, 411): Christ.
85. Farsa del sacramento del Entendimiento niño (III, 427): No
saints.
86. Farsa del sacramento de La fuente de la gracia (III, 447): No
saints.
87. Farsa del sacramento (III, 469): A shepherd named Anton, St.
Jerome, St. Luke, St. Augustine, St. Ambrose.
88. Farsa del sacramento de La entrada del vino (III, 484): Adam,
Moses.
89. Farsa del sacramento de Los quatro evangelistas (III, 500):
Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John.

90. Farsa sacramental llamada Desafio del Hombre (III, 513):
Guardian Angel.
91. Farsa del sacramento de Adan (IV, 1): Adam.
92. Farsa sacramental de Las bodas d'España (IV, 14): No saints.
93. Aucto del Descendimiento de la cruz (IV, 29): Jeremiah,
Nuestra Señora, Mary Magdalene, St. John, St. Joseph of
Arimathea, St. Nicodemus. A similar work, according to
Rouanet (IV, 351), is the Muerte y entierro de Cristo, y
Soledad de Maria, which underlies the third act of Rojas
Zorrilla's El mas bueno y el mas malo.
94. Aucto de La redencion del genero humano (IV, 47): Christ, Adam,
Eve, "y otros sanctos padres." But this writer found no
other saintly fathers in the auto.
95. Aucto de La Resurreccion de Nuestro Señor (IV, 66): Nuestra
Señora, the three Marys, Peter, John, Philip, Thomas. This
work, forty pages long, is twice the length of most works in
this collection. It is summarized at the end of this
appendix.
96. Aucto de La paciencia de Job (IV, 105): Job, God the Father.
Rouanet (IV, 366) suggests Lope's Los trabajos de Job, but
wonders whether this title represents a play or merely a
confusion with his Los trabajos de Jacob. In 1638, Felipe
Godínez did publish a play entitled Los trabajos de Job.

The Rouanet collection includes also the following works,

printed as appendices:

Victoria de Christo, Bartolomé Palau. From the edition of Juan
Navarro (Valencia, 1570).

Aucto Primero, en el qual se representa como Adam comio por
persuasion de Eva del fructo vedado, por cuya culpa fue
lançado del parayso terrestre (IV, 375). God, Adam, Eve,
an angel.

Aucto Tercero, en el qual se representa la muerte de Abel, y
como el fue el primero que se deposito en el lymbo (IV,
383). Abel, an angel (along with Cain, Blame, Satan,
and Lucifer!)

Aucto Quinto (IV, 393). Personages are the same as in the
"Aucto Tercero" except for Abel and the angel.

Farsa del mundo y moral, Fernán López de Yanguas (IV, 397).

All the characters are allegorical, except for "el hermitaño (que es la predicación y religión)."

Auto de La Assumption de Nuestra Señora (IV, 437). Christ, the Virgin Mary, the Twelve Apostles, St. Gabriel, the Archangel. Though a little longer, this work is parallel to the two by the same title which are summarized below.

Because of the number and prominence of the saints in three works in the Rouanet collection, they are summarized here.

31. Auto de La Asunción de Nuestra Señora (II, 1): Nuestra Señora, John, Peter, James, Andrew, Christ, and all the other apostles.

An angel announces to Mary that she will die in three days. She expresses gladness over the prospect of reunion with her Son, but makes three requests: that she not see the enemy in death, that she be allowed to see the disciples before she dies, and that Christ Himself come for her soul. John arrives, wondering why his sermon in a far-away place was so suddenly interrupted. Mary gives him a palm to carry in the procession which will take her to her burial place. The other disciples arrive, also having been miraculously transported to Mary's humble abode. With the disciples around her bed, Mary, after instructing them to bury her wherever her Son indicates, expires. The voices of angels and of God the Father are heard in song. Christ tells the apostles to bury the saint in the Valley of Jehoshaphat.

John tries to give the palm to Peter, since he "de la Yglesia esta por prinçipe y cabeçera."¹ But Peter refuses, saying that to a virgin's burial, a virgin must carry the palm.

¹Rouanet, II, 6.

32. Aucto de La Asunción de Nuestra Señora (II, 8). Nuestra Señora, an angel, John, Andrew, Peter, James, Moses, a rabbi, two other Jews, God the Father, Christ, the Holy Spirit, Thomas, two choirs of angels, all the other apostles, and, though his name is omitted from the "figuras," Paul.

The Virgin, desirous of seeing her Son, requests death. An angel promises that her wish will be granted. Mary says she does not wish to see the devil; the angel agrees, adding that the apostles will be with her. John arrives first, taken suddenly from a sermon in Ephesus. She tells him he will carry the victory palm. No sooner does John express the wish that the other disciples were there than they are, with the exception of Thomas. Mary commends her soul to her Son and dies. The heavens open and "parescen las tres personas de la Trenidad, cantando con el anima."¹

On the way to the burial, the bier is approached by four Jews, two of whom are called "Rrabi" and "Mose." The rabbi places his hands on the bier in an effort to see whether the dead person is really the mother of Jesus of Nazareth; his hands remain stuck fast, freed only when he and the three others, repeating words pronounced by St. Peter, concede that Christ is the Saviour of the race.

The heavens now open, and all three Persons of the Trinity welcome and crown Mary, who has ascended bodily. Songs are heard, in turn, from the Trinity, the angels, and the apostles.

¹Ibid., p. 13.

St. Thomas arrives. When told of the happenings, he says it is all too much to believe. Suddenly a ribbon or sash recognized as Mary's falls on him from heaven, and he expresses thanks for having been twice blessed with proof. Peter and Paul end the play by exhorting all to return to work, spreading the gospel in this land of exile.

95. Aucto de La resurrecion de Nuestro Señor (IV, 66).

Nuestra Señora, two angels, Christ, Maria Salome, Maria Jacobi, La Magdalena, St. Peter, St. John, St. Philip, St. Thomas, Lucifer.

The mother of Jesus describes her grief for 109 lines, recounting also the events of Crucifixion Friday. Two angels console her briefly, explaining that the blood of the Lord was required for the salvation of the race. Christ then appears to her, and, because of her grace and faith, allows her to embrace Him. He tells how he descended to the infernal regions and freed the saints from the clutches of Satan, taking them to an earthly paradise where they will tarry for forty days until called to join Christ for the ascension. When He says He must go to bolster the faith of others, Mary's natural but touching reply is, "Pues, visítame, mi padre."¹

The other three Marys are next on the scene; their grief and disillusionment are poured out in verse and song. Mary Magdalene, left alone, replies to the questions of a masculine voice without looking up. Taking the voice to be that of the gardener, she describes her love for her Master and is mystified by the gardener's

¹Ibid., IV, 74.

repeated suggestions that if she would only look at him, she would find him every bit as appealing as her Beloved. His rustic terms and crudity are not at all pleasing, and we exclaim with Mary:

Mi alma no sufre oyr
un colloquio tan grosero,
ni ella quiere ni yo quiero
dar materia a tu dezir,
que ygnoras lo verdadero.¹

This exchange continues for 242 lines, until Christ says simply, "Alça tus ojos, Maria."² She is then instructed to take the news to the disciples.

Peter, John, Philip, and Thomas then arrive. Peter's moving admission of guilt and shame in the denial of his Lord is accepted by the others. Philip submits that they all failed, except John the shepherd. John humbly reminds them that Christ promised consolation for those who mourn and repent. They all leave, except for Peter, who lingers to pour out a long prayer of contrition and repentance. Christ appears as a shepherd, offers him pardon, and disappears. The other apostles return, and He appears to them dressed as He had been when He appeared to His mother.³

¹Ibid., p. 82.

²Ibid., p. 87.

³It is to be noted that the presence of Thomas and Philip at the tomb on the morning of the resurrection is out of harmony with the scriptural account. Luke 24:12 mentions only Peter, and John 20:3-8 mentions Peter and John. This scene seems to fuse with the apostles' visit to the tomb on Sunday morning ("esta mañana," line 1015) two of the appearances of the risen Christ: that same night (John 20:19-21) and a week later (John 26:29).

After all have left, Lucifer gives vent to his fury and frustration. The four apostles return to "jugar con él al toro."¹ They take turns kicking him, verbally and literally.

¹Rouanet, IV, 100.

APPENDIX C

POTENTIAL SIXTEENTH-CENTURY DRAMATIC SOURCES OF THE COMEDIA DE SANTOS

Chapter I contains on pages 41-57 the titles of sixteenth-century dramatic works which may have been precursors of the comedia de santos. But there are many more. Below are listed those works which were published as suelas in the sixteenth century. In addition to the title, the list shows, if known, the date, the author, and the place of publication. Sources of information are given parenthetically in order to avoid the disadvantages of as many footnotes as items in the list. In some cases, brief commentaries attempt to clarify relationships to this study. In the absence of other information, some plays are listed because of the mere possibility that saints may be among the characters.

- 1509 Historia de los tres Reyes Magos. One of several sixteenth-century plays, now lost, on the Magi. (Patt, Appendix II.)
- 1511 Representación a la Pasión de Nuestro Señor. This may be the same work as that published as item three under the name of Encina in 1496. (Cañete, p. 24.)
- 1518? Fernán López de Yanguas. Egloga en loor de la Natividad de Nuestro Señor. Saints do not appear, but four shepherds refer to those of the holy family. (Patt, pp. 154-163; Crawford, pp. 38-39. This may be the same as the Farsa de Natividad ascribed to López de Yanguas by Cañete, p. 63, note 1.)
- 1518? Fernán López de Yanguas. Farsa del mundo y moral. First published in 1524. This was the first Castilian play on the subject of the Assumption of the Virgin. But most of the

action concerns the shepherd Appetite, who finally triumphs with Faith as his guide. (Crawford, p. 46; Rouanet, IV, 397-433.)

- 1520? Fernán López de Yanguas. Farsa sacramental. The characters are about the same as those of the Obra da Geraçam humana of Gil Vicente, that is, the fathers of the church: Jerome, Augustine, Gregory, and Ambrose. It is, incidentally, one of the earliest plays dealing with the Eucharist. (Wardropper, p. 169; Crawford, pp. 47-48.)
- 1520? Fernando Díaz. Farsa que habla en loor del nacimiento de nuestro señor Jesu Christo. (A. de los Ríos, VII, 497, note.)
- 1520? Fernando Díaz. Farsa nuevamente trobada, a Christmas play. (Patt, pp. 163-168.)
- 1520 Tres Pasos de la Pasión. Burgos. (Crawford, p. 45, tells us that this work deals with death sentences of prophecy. Christ bids farewell to His mother and leaves her in the arms of St. John. In the next scene, Mary and John are at the foot of the cross; soon St. Nicodemus appears and suggests that they obtain permission from Pilate to remove the body of Jesus.)
- 1520 Egloga de la Resurrección. Burgos. (Crawford, p. 45, thinks this work was written by the same anonymous author who wrote the Tres Pasos de la Pasión. In the Egloga, the prophets, including the Brythaeen Sibyl, sing of deliverance. Christ goes to limbo and presents liberated souls to St. Mary.)
- 1521 Farsa sacramental. This anonymous work is similar to that of López de Yanguas, listed above. (Wardropper, p. 169; Crawford, pp. 47-48.)
- 1523 Pedro Altamira. Auto de la Aparicion que Nuestro Senor Jesu-cristo hizo a los discipulos que iban a Emaus. A primitive Officium Peregrinorum, this simple play may have been given in the church at Easter time. (Crawford, p. 45.)
- 1527? Fernando de Briz. Comedia de Josep. Not so well-known as the Comedia Josefina of Micael de Carvajal, described in Chapter I. We mention this work because of the type of play it represents, and the saintly character of the patriarch Joseph, though he is not registered among the saints of the Catholic Church. (Cafiete, p. 145.)

- 1528 Esteban Martín or Martínez. Alto (sic) cómo San Juan fué concebido. Performed on the day of St. John the Baptist, the play follows closely the first two chapters of Luke. Stage directions are included; and, incidentally, the bobo or dunce here appears for the first time with that name. (Crawford, p. 39; Wardropper, p. 58.)
- 1528 Juan Pastor. Auto nuevo del santo nacimiento de Cristo Nuestro Señor. Seville. (Crawford, p. 39.)
- 1528? Fray Marcelo de Lebrixa. Title missing. An Incarnation play with female roles only. (Crawford, p. 39.)
- 1529 Coloquio espiritual de la Pasión de Nuestro Señor. Seville? (Cotarelo y Mori, Teatro español anterior a Lope, p. 14.)
- 1520-1530? Vasco Díaz Tanco de Fregenal. Thirty-eight works belonging to the drama sagrado. Seventeen of these were autos cuadragésimales, written for performance during Lent. Only some of the titles of these works remain:
La cena postrera de Cristo con sus discípulos,
Cuando Herodes mandó degollar a Sant Juan, and the
Embajada del Angel Gabriel a Nuestra Señora.
 The last of these was cited by Díaz Tanco himself in 1552, in his Jardín del alma cristiana. (Alenda, III, 586, 679; IV, 497.)
- 1530? Perolópez Ranjel. Farça a honor y reverencia del glorioso nacimiento de nuestro redemptor Jesu Christo y de la Virgen gloriosa madre suya. (A. de los Ríos, VII, 497, note; Patt, pp. 174-186. Crawford, p. 39, says it "shows little advance over the plays of Encina.")
- 1532? La Epiphania. One of several plays, now lost, on the Magi. (Patt, Appendix II.)
- 1533 Fernando Basurto. Descripción poética del martirio de Santa Engracia, y de sus XVIII compañeros. Printed and performed at Zaragoza in 1533. (Cañete, p. 55, note 1.)
- 1534 Juan Francisco Fernández. Farsa Guillarda del Nacimiento, en coplas. (Cañete, p. 56, note 1.)
- 1540¹ Gonzalo Carvajal. Farsa del Nacimiento de Cristo. (Cañete, p. 56, note 1.)

¹This and the following six works were written no later than 1540, according to Cañete, passim.

- 1540 Bartolomé del Castillo. Comedia del Nacimiento, en coplas. (Cañete, p. 56, note 1.)
- 1540 Pedro Gómez Cisneros. Farsa sobre la Resurrección, en coplas. (Cañete, p. 57, note 1.)
- 1540 Diego de Herrera. Farsa del Nacimiento. (Cañete, p. 58, note 1.)
- 1540 Sebastián Pérez. Auto de Sant Alexo. (Cañete, p. 58, note 1.)
- 1540 Andrés de Quevedo. Comedia evangélica á la Resurrección. (Cañete, p. 58, note 1.)
- 1540 Fernando Vázquez. Farsa del Nacimiento. (Cañete, p. 59, note 1.)
- 1550? Comedia a lo pastoril para la noche de Navidad. This work is deemed "insupportable." (Bonilla, p. 143.)
- 1551 La Sancta. Printed in Venice in 1551; prohibited in the Expurgatorio of 1559. (Cotarelo y Mori, pp. 15-16.)
- 1551 Juan de Rodrigo Alonso, or Juan de Pedraza. Farsa llamada Dança de la muerte. (Crawford, pp. 141-142; Bonilla, p. 142.)
- 1551 Juan de Rodrigo Alonso, or Juan de Pedraza. Comedia de Sancta Susaña. This play has been said to reveal ability both in poetic facility and in dramatic interest. One wonders whether its success might have led Diego Sánchez de Badajoz to write his Farsa de Sancta Susaña, and whether there was influence from either or both of these works later when Vélez de Guevara wrote Santa Susana, o los viejos de Susana. (Crawford, pp. 141-142; Bonilla, p. 142; Bonilla, "Cinco obras," Revue Hispanique, XXVII [1912], pp. 393-394.)
- 1561? Jorge de Montemayor. Three Christmas autos. (Patt, pp. 207-213.)
- 1561 Pedro Suárez de Robles. Danza del Santísimo Nacimiento. This author, from Ledesma, was a clérigo del Evangelio or lector. In the play, which was based on the story according to Luke, are Sts. Mary and Joseph. Their speeches are either exhortations or prayer-like. (Patt, pp. 247-254; Gillet, "Danza," PMLA, XLIII [1928], 614-634.)
- 1561? Los Tres Reyes Magos. Performed in Seville in 1561. This may have been the 1509 play (see above). (Patt, Appendix II.)

- 1561 Padre Alonso de Heredia. Tragedia de la Transmigración de Babilonia. Performed at Plasencia. It is assumed that the prophet--and saint--Daniel had a role in this work. (Cañete, p. 138.)
- 1562 Bartolomé Aparicio. Misterio de la bienaventurada Santa Cecilia. (Crawford, p. 138; Bonilla, p. 143.)
- 1563 Padre Juan Alvarez. La tragedia de Nabuc Donosor. Apparently performed at Plasencia. Again, it is assumed that Daniel was among the characters. (Cañete, p. 224.)
- 1568 Francisco de las Cuebas. Representación de los mártires Justo y Pastor. Also written for the 1568 festival of these saints was the Auto del martirio de Sant Justo y Pastor, twenty-ninth in the Rouanet collection, probably by Alonso de Torres for performance at the University of Alcalá. (Cañete, p. 229.)
- 1572 Auto del Nacimiento. The characters are "Contento; un doctor, que es el Demonio; la Justicia; Defensor; y el Alma." (Cañete, p. 232.) This work is cited as an example of several autos del nacimiento without Mary and Joseph. A few, as in this case, portrayed no saints at all.
- 1578 El Naufragio de Jonás profeta y Penitencia de los Ninivitas. This work has been called a "símbolo de la gloriosa resurrección de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo." (Cañete, p. 139.) Jonah is registered among the saints.
- 1580 Sebastián de Horozco y Covarrubias. Cancionero. This work contained three biblical dramatic pieces, two of which dealt with narratives from the gospels of Matthew and John. (Milego, pp. 117-118.)
- 1582 Ausías Izquierdo Zebrero. Auto llamado Lucero de nuestra salvación, que trata del despedimiento que hizo Nuestro Señor Jesucristo de su bendita madre. Human interest is high as the Virgin tries to dissuade Jesus from going to Jerusalem to meet His death. An angel presents five letters in which the death of Christ is prophesied by Old Testament figures, all saints: Adam, Abraham, Moses, David, and Jeremiah. The Master entrusts St. Mary to the care of St. John. This play was probably written to supply a link between the Auto del Despedimiento de Christo de su madre and the Auto de las donas que envió Adán a Nuestra Señora, numbers 54 and 53, respectively, in the Rouanet collection. (Crawford, p. 141.)

- 1589 Ausías Izquierdo. Un milagro de la Virgen del Rosario. Valencia. Moratín is cited as believing that this writer and the author of the Lucero de nuestra salvación (see above) are two persons. (Alenda, X (1923), p. 224.)
- 1577- Comedia de la Historia y Adoración de los Tres Reyes Magos.
1590 This play and the Auto dos Reis Magos of Gil Vicente are the only extant peninsular plays on the kings in the sixteenth century. Miss Patt attributes this to the emergence of the shepherds as representatives of an oppressed social class; the foreign and resplendent Magi could not possibly embody the new aspirations of the common man, nor arouse his sympathy as the shepherds could. Three other titles from Magi plays are listed above. (Patt, pp. 254-264; 183; 286. See also C. A. Tyre, Religious Plays of 1590.)
- 1577- Comedia del nacimiento y vida de Judas. This legend,
1590 based on the apocrypha, had gained in popularity after its inclusion in the De Vitis Sanctorum or Legenda Aurea of Jacobo de Voragine. Characters in the play include Christ, the Virgin Mary, St. Peter, St. John, St. Philip, and St. Andrew. (Tyre, pp. 16-19.)
- 1590 Auto de la degollación de Sant Jhoan. Wardropper (pp. 227-228) finds this work a "seudomisterio" rather than a real auto sacramental, and disputes its inclusion in Miss Kemp's collection. (See remarks immediately below.)
- 1590 La conversión de Sant Pablo. This work also fails to be an auto sacramental, declares Wardropper (p. 228), though it does open with a loor to the Eucharist and closes with an invitation to St. Paul to take part in the holy repast.¹ The real significance of this work and that listed immediately above, according to Wardropper, is that they reject the older and looser term farsa. (This play is in a study by Vera H. Buck.)
- 1595 Miguel Díaz. La visitación de Santa Isabel. (Patt, Appendix II.) It is assumed that this play was distinct from that cited in Chapter I, page 52.
- ? Aucto de Thamar. This work contains a role for David, who is a saint. (Cañete, p. 229.)

¹Even as late as 1639 in Madrid, asserts Wardropper (p. 150), three so-called autos were really seudomisterios: La cárcel del mundo, by Coello; Hércules, by Rojas; and the anonymous Santa María Egipcíaca.

- ? Padre Hernández de Avila. Coloquio de la Natividad de Cristo Nuestro Señor. (Patt, Appendix II.)
- ? Cristóbal de Morales. Renegado, rey y mártir. (Díaz Plaja, Historia general, III, 181.)
- ? Blas Fernández de Mesa. Fundadora de la Santa Concepción o Vida y muerte de Doña Beatriz de Silva. This writer was praised by Lope in the Laurel de Apolo. Milego (p. 154) calls the play a comedia.
- ? Francisco Agustín Tárrega. Santa Margarita. Lost. (Díaz Plaja, Historia general, III, 181.)
- ? Francisco Agustín Tárrega. La fundación de la Orden de Nuestra Señora de la Merced. In its structure, this work suggests Cervantes' El rufián dichoso. (Díaz Plaja, Historia general, III, 181.)
- ? Gaspar de Aguilar (1561-1623). La vida y muerte de San Luis Beltrán. "Una verdadera crónica en la cual van ofreciéndose al contemplador una serie de cuadros sobre los que en aquellos días todo el mundo hablaba." (Díaz Plaja, Historia general, III, 186.)
- ? Auto del Tránsito y Asunción de Nuestra Señora. This work, according to Cotarelo y Mori (pp. 15-16), is a number of years older than the extant 1603 edition.
- ? Bartolomé Aparicio. Obra d'El Pecador. This play, not published until 1611 but written earlier, had many allegorical characters such as la Justicia and La Misericordia; but also to be seen were St. Mary, St. Joseph, some shepherds, and an angel. (Cañete, "Sobre el drama religioso," pp. 387-389.)
- ? Jose de Valdivielso (1560?-1638).¹ El hospital de los locos. An auto sacramental, this work has a final scene which is more than an exhibition of divine pharmacy. Each medication is explained by St. Peter; and when Diablo, Locura, and los Locos pursue the Soul, she finds asylum in the saint's arms. (Wardropper, p. 307.)
- ? Jose de Valdivielso. El peregrino. This work is somewhat like Vicente's Obra da Geraçam humana, a work which, as we noted earlier, portrayed five saints. (Wardropper, pp. 166-167.)

¹Valdivielso was Lope's friend and the confessor who attended him as he lay dying. Among his later works--works which can be placed in the seventeenth century--were El nacimiento de la mejor, published in a Colección in 1622, and El loco cuerdo, San Simeón, written in 1615 or earlier. (Alenda, V, 379.)

APPENDIX D

POTENTIAL SIXTEENTH-CENTURY NON-DRAMATIC SOURCES OF THE COMEDIA DE SANTOS

The following works are listed in order to suggest the interest in saints' lives that prevailed during the sixteenth century. No claim is made that the list is complete, and it is beyond the scope of this study to establish comparisons and contrasts between comedias de santos and their sources. Many such comparisons have already been made, as we find, for example, in the prologues by Menéndez y Pelayo in volumes three, four, and five of the Academy edition of the Obras de Lope de Vega. The reader may, by referring to Appendix A, discover the titles of those works which were based or may have been based on works listed here.

The list is arranged chronologically, showing date; author, if known; title; place of publication, if known; and the present writer's source of information. This reference is given parenthetically, to avoid the complexities of numerous footnotes. Titles, when given, are abbreviated; but the reader may easily find complete information by turning a few pages to the bibliography section of this study. "Penney," unless otherwise indicated, refers to Clara L. Penney's List of Books Printed Before 1601 in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America.

- 1518 Juan de Padilla. Los doce triunfos de los apóstoles.
(Amador de los Ríos, VII, 266, calls this the closest Spanish counterpart to the Divina Commedia, though some passages imitate the Aeneid. Its allegorical nature, in that it relates the twelve apostles--Paul replacing Judas--to the twelve signs of the zodiac, makes it doubtful that this work could be considered a source for saints' lives.)
- 1518? Juan de Padilla. El retablo de la vida de Cristo. (Amador de los Ríos, VII, 272, tells us that this poem contains vivid pictures of the visitation of St. Elizabeth, the conversion of St. Mary Magdalene, and the resurrection of St. Lazarus.)
- 1518? Diego Rodríguez de Almela. Tractado o copilación de los victoriosos milagros del glorioso bienaventurado Apóstol Santiago. (Amador de los Ríos, VII, 272.)
- 1520? Diego de San Pedro. La passion de nuestro señor Jesu Christo. (Penney, p. 219.)
- 1520? Anonymous. Vida de San Alejo. Seville? (Rösler, p. 334.)
- 1521? Doctor Gonzalo Millán. Flos sanctorum, emendado por Fray Juan Sánchez y Fray Pedro de Leguicamo. (Rösler, p. 333.)
- 1523 Anonymous. La vida y generaciõ excelências y miraglos dela gloriosa sancta Anna y dela virgen nuestra señora en su tierna edad. Salam. (Penney, p. 264.)
- 1527 Luis de Linares. Vita beati Pauli heremite. Toleti: Raymundi de Petras. (Penney, p. 147.)
- 1538 Lorenzo de Padilla. Catálogo de los santos de España. Toledo. (Sería, p. 852.)
- 1544 Damián de Vegas. Memoria muy verdadera de la pasión y martirio que el glorioso mártir, inocente niño, llamado Cristóbal, padesció. (Glaser, "Lope's El niño inocente de La Guardia," pp. 141-142. Sainz de Robles in Aguilar III, 384, says this work, since it was never printed, was probably not known by Lope.)
- 1545 Pero Mexía. Historia imperial y cesárea. (Marín, p. 93, gives this work as a source of Lope's Lo fingido verdadero.)
- 1549 Miguel Pérez. La vida y excellencias y milagros dela virgē Maria. Toledo: Juā de Ayala. (Penney, p. 192.)

- 1552 Juan de Quirós. Christopatía o Pasión de Cristo Nuestro Señor. Toledo. (Milego, p. 124.)
- 1554 Diego de Estella. Tratado de la vida del apóstol San Juan. Lisboa: German Galiarde. (Penney, p. 94.)
- 1555 Joachimus Perionius. De sanctorum virorum. Lutetiae: Ex officina Michaëlis Vascosani. (Penney, p. 194.)
- 1563 Alonso Venero. La vida y milagros del bienaventurado confesor santo Lesmes. Burgos: Philippe de Junta. (Penney, p. 263.)
- 1566? Pedro de la Vega. Flos Sanctorum. Alcalá de Henares? (Penney, p. 262.)
- 1568 Ambrosio Morales. La vida, el martyrio, la invención de los martyres San Justo y Pastor. Alcalá: Andrés de Angulo. (Penney, p. 174.)
- 1569 Pedro de la Vega. Flos Sanctorum. Sevilla: Juan Gutiérrez. (Penney, p. 262.)
- 1570? Malara. El martirio de las Santas Justa y Rufina, patronas de Sevilla, poema en latín y castellano. (Sánchez-Arjona, p. 38.)
- 1570? Anonymous. Crónica de los Santos Apóstoles. (Sánchez-Arjona, p. 38.)
- 1572 Pedro de la Vega. Flos Sanctorum. Alcalá de Henares: Andrés de Angulo. (Penney, p. 262.)
- 1574 Juan de Pineda. Libro de la vida de San Juan Baptista. Salamanca: Gaspar de Portonarijs. (Penney, p. 198.)
- 1577 Juan de Robles. La vida de la Santa Anna. Burgos: Philippe de Iūnta. (Penney, p. 212.)
- 1578 Doctor Gonzalo Millán. Flos sanctorum emendado por Fray Juan Sánchez y Fray Pedro de Leguicamo. Medina del Campo. (Rösler, p. 333.)
- 1578-1583 Malón de Chaide. La conversión de la Magdalena. (Valbuena Prat, Historia, I, 522.)
- 1580 Juan Basilio Santoro. La hagiographia y vidas de los sanctos del Nuevo Testamento. Bilbao: Mathias Mares. (Penney, p. 224; Reynier, p. 826.)
- 1582 Juan de Padilla. Retablo de la vida de Cristo. Valladolid: Diego Fernández de Córdoba. (Penney, p. 188.)

- 1583 Juan Pérez de Moya. Varia historia de sanctas e illustres mugeres. Madrid: Francisco Sanchez. (Penney, p. 193; Spencer & Schevill, p. 292. Latter reference states this contains the story of St. Catherine.)
- 1583 Roman Martyrology. (Silva, p. 175, note 2.)
- 1583 Alonso de Villegas. Flos Sanctorum. (Rösler, p. 334, gives the date as 1589; Seris, p. 852, gives it as 1583 and states, "Sustituyó a la traducción antigua de la Leyenda Aurea.")
- 1584 Luis Martí. Historia del bienaventurado padre Fray Luys Bertran, Parte I. Valencia: Herederos de Joan Navarro. (Penney, p. 159.)
- 1584 Hernando de Castilla. Historia general de San Domingo y de su Orden. Madrid. (Waxman, p. 373.) Cotarelo ("Mira de Amescua," XVII, 622) declares that this work was, for Villegas in later editions of the Flos Sanctorum and possibly for Mira de Amescua in El esclavo del demonio, the source of the story of Giles of Santarem.
- 1585 Fray Rodrigo de Yepes. Historia de la muerte y glorioso martirio del Sancto Inocente. Madrid. (Glaser, "Lope's Niño Inocente," pp. 141-142.)
- 1585 Luis de la Cruz. Historia del glorioso mártir San Vicente, en octava rima. Toledo: Pedro López de Haro. (Penney, p. 77.)
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- 1588 Juan de Padilla. Retablo de la vida de Cristo. Alcalá de Henares: Sebastián Martínez. (Penney, p. 188.)
- 1588 Alonso de Villegas. Flos Sanctorum, Parte III. Toledo: Juan y Pedro Rodríguez. (Penney, p. 266.)
- 1588 Alonso de Villegas. Adición a la tercera parte del Flos Sanctorum. Toledo: Juan y Pedro Rodríguez. (Penney, p. 266.)
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- 1588 Francisco de las Cuebas. La Vida y Milagros de San Francisco de Paula: Regla tercera de su Orden para Hombres y Mugerres. Zaragoza. (Crawford, "Representación," p. 428, states that this is a translation from Paulo Regio's Italian.)
- 1588 Francisco de Castro. Miraculosa vida y santas obras del beato Juan de Dios, fundador de la religión que cura enfermos. Granada. (Sainz de Robles, Aguilar III, p. 415.)
- 1588 Antonio de Santa María. La vida y milagrosos hechos del glorioso San Antonio de Padua. Salamanca: Guillelmo Foquel. (Penney, p. 222.)
- 1589 Alonso de Villegas. Flos Sanctorum. Madrid. (Waxman, p. 372.)
- 1590 Doctor Frey Damián de Vegas. Poesía christiana, moral y divina. Toledo. (Milego, p. 122.)
- 1591 Miguel Hernández. Vida, martyrio y translación de Santa Leocadia. Toledo: Pedro Rodríguez. (Penney, p. 121.)
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- 1591 Felipe de Guimerán. La vida del Siervo de Dios fray Pedro Nolasco. Valencia. (Menéndez y Pelayo, Estudios, II, 50.)
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- 1592 Jerónimo Ramírez. De raptu innocentis martyris guardiensis. (Glaser, "Lope's Niño Inocente," pp. 141-142.)
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- 1592 Eugenio Martínez. Libro de la vida y martyrio de la divina virgen y martyr Sancta Inés. Alcalá de Henares: Hernán Ramírez. (Penney, p. 159.)
- 1592 Malón de Chaide. Libro de la conversión de la Magdalena. Alcalá: Juan Iníiguez de Lequerica. (Penney, p. 155.)
- 1593 Malón de Chaide. Libro de la conversión de la Magdalena. Alcalá: Juan Gracián. (Penney, p. 155.)
- 1593 Juan de Padilla. Retablo de la vida de Cristo. Toledo: Pedro Rodríguez. (Penney, p. 188.)

- 1593 Antonio Cianca. Historia de San Segundo. (Marín, p. 137.)
- 1593 Anonymous. La vida del bienaventurado Sant Amaro. Valladolid: Herederos de Bernardino de Sanctodomingo. (Penney, p. 264.)
- 1594 Alonso de Villegas. Flos Sanctorum, Parte IV. Cuenca: Pedro del Valle. (Penney, p. 266.)
- 1594 Padre Alonso de Espinosa. Del origen y milagros de Nuestra Señora de Candelaria, que apareció en la isla de Tenerife. Seville. (Lope, Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria, ed. by María Rosa Alonso, p. 15.)
- 1595 José de Sigüenza. La vida de San Gerónimo. Madrid: Tomás Iunti. (Penney, p. 230.)
- 1596 Vasco Mousinho de Quevedo e Castello-Branco. Discurso sobre a vida e morte de Santa Isabel rainha de Portugal & outras varias rimas. Lisboa: Manoel de Lyra. (Penney, p. 175.)
- 1596 Juan de Marieta. Historia eclesiástica de todos los santos de España. Cuenca: Pedro del Valle. (Penney, p. 158.)
- 1596 Juan de Madariaga. Vida del serafico padre San Bruno patriarca de la Cartuxa. Valencia: Pedro Patricio Mey. (Penney, p. 154.)
- 1597 Fray Francisco Ortiz Lucio. Compendio de vidas de Santos. (Waxman, p. 378; Reynier, p. 826; González Palencia, prólogo of N. Acad. IX, ix, note 1.)
- 1597 Gabriel de Talavera. Historia de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. Toledo: Thomas de Guzmán. (Penney, p. 245.)
- 1598 Francisco Tello. Relación que embio de seys frailes españoles dela orden de San Francisco que crucificaron los del Iapon este año proximo passado de 1597. Seville: Francisco Pérez. (Penney, p. 709.)
- 1598 Gabriel de Mata. Vida, muerte y milagros de San Diego de Alcala. Madrid: Licéciado Castro. (Penney, p. 161.)
- 1598 Luis Hurtado de Toledo. Historia de San Joseph. (Milego, p. 113.)
- 1599 Bartolomé de Segura. Del nacimiento, vida y muerte de San Julian segundo obispo de Cuenca. Cuenca: Miguel Serrano de Vargas. (Penney, p. 226.)

- 1599- Pedro de Ribadeneyra. Flos Sanctorum o Libro de las vidas
 1601 de los Santos. 2 vols. Madrid: Luis Sánchez. (Serfs,
 p. 852; Penney, p. 262.)
- 1600 Joam de Lucena. Historia da vida do padre Francisco de
Xavier. Lisboa: Pedro Crasbeeck. (Penney, p. 152.)
- 1600 Malón de Chaide. Libro de la conversión de la Magdalena.
 Valencia: Pedro Patricio Mey. (Penney, p. 155.)
- ? Confesiones de San Agustín, translated by Sebastián Toscano.
 (Sainz de Robles, Aguilar III, 201, gives this and the
 following items as sources for Lope's El divino africano.)
- ? Confesiones de San Agustín, translated by Pedro de Ribadeneyra.
- ? Gabriel Lobo Lasso de la Vega. Discurso about Juan de Dios.
 (Lost, according to Sainz de Robles, Aguilar III, 415.)

APPENDIX B

THE SAINTS IN LOPE DE VEGA'S COMEDIAS DE SANTOS

Abel (M) ¹	Caecilius	Eugene
Abraham	Christopher of Guardia (M)	Euphrasius
Adam (2)	Clare	Eusebius
Agapes (M)	Cleophas	Eustochium
Alipius	Ctesiphon	Eve (2)
Ambrose	Cyril	Francisco
Anne		
Anthimus (M)	Damasus	
Antonino	David (2)	Gabriel (3)
B1. Antony Neyrot (M)	Didacus	Genesius (M)
Augustine (3)	Dominic (3)	B1. Giles
	Domna	Glycerius (M)
Barlaam	Dorotheus (M)	Gregory Nazianzen
Basil		
Benedict of Palermo	Elizabeth	Hesychius
Braulio	Ephrem	
Brigid		Ildephonsus

¹Martyrs are indicated by "(M)." The parenthetical figures indicate the number of plays, if more than one, in which the saint has a role. The beati (beatified but not canonized) are prefixed by "B1."

Indaletius (M)	Nicholas of Tolentino
Indes (M)	
Isidore (3)	Paul
	Paula
James (M)	Peter (2)
Jeremiah	Bl. Peter Geremia
Jerome	Peter Nolasco
Joachim	
Job	Rafael
John of God	Raymund of Peñafort
John the Baptist	
Josafat	Secundus
Joseph	Bl. Simon de Rojas
	Simplician
Leocadia (M)	
	Teresa de Jesus
The Magi (Baltasar, Caspar, and Melchior) (2)	Theophila (M)
Malchus	Torquatus
Mary (9)	
Bl. Mary de la Cabeza (2)	Zacharias (2)
Mercurius (M)	
Michael	
Monica	

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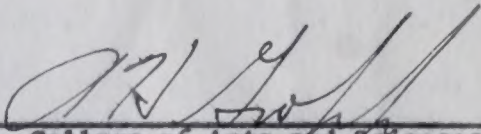
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This dissertation was prepared under the direction of the chairman of the candidate's supervisory committee and has been approved by all members of that committee. It was submitted to the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate Council, and was approved as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

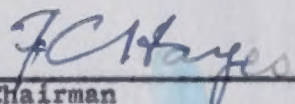
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